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GULLIVER PHANTASIES.[1]

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BUDAPEST

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me first of all to thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to read the opening paper at this Annual Meeting of your learned Society. I take it as an honour done not so much to myself as to psycho-analysis. Seventeen years ago I had the privilege of visiting this country with Professor Freud, and so I am able to compare the position of psycho-analysis in 1909 with its position to-day both in America and in Europe. At that time, apart from the friendly interest shown by two great American scholars, Dr. Stanley Hall and Dr. J. J. Putnam, Freud's method was championed by only one single person in the United States—by Dr. A. A. Brill. And in Europe it was certainly not very much better. We were only a handful of pioneers scattered about the world—generals without an army; yet we were full of hope and optimism about our work. Our abounding hopefulness in those days reminds me of the old anecdote of the beggar who was dividing his property amongst his sons. To the first he said: 'You may beg in Germany'; to the second: 'You shall have Hungary', while to the third he apportioned Switzerland, and to the fourth, America. Since the time of my visit we have indeed advanced enormously in public recognition, and can boast of a whole host of adherents of psycho-analysis both in your country and in Europe. In America this host seems more numerous than in Europe; at any rate, I find a more wide-spread interest in psycho-analysis amongst people who

[1] Read at the Annual Meeting of the New York Society for Clinical Psychiatry, December 9, 1926.

have not had experience of analysis. If I had to account for this fact I should be tempted to say that the spirit of liberty characteristic of the American genius makes it impossible for a young science to be rejected, as has been attempted in certain European universities, for reasons of mere conservatism, without its having first been examined. On the other hand you will, I am sure, allow me to remark that this spirit of liberty is not without its dangers. Once, when I was talking to several eminent Americans, they said to me that the spirit of liberty in them resented Freud's specially important precept that anyone who wanted to become an analyst must first be analysed himself. I fear that this attitude may rob you of all the advantages which you derive from your love of liberty and may make it impossible for you correctly to evaluate Freud's methods. The larger number and greater importance of scientific contributions to psycho-analysis in Europe are probably accounted for by the fact that there is a larger body of well-trained analysts there, and the possibility of acquiring an analytic training at several psycho-analytic institutes, which in America are non-existent.

In concluding this comparison, I will mention only the following points : In Europe it has become customary for people to appropriate a large part of Freud's life-work, to dish it up in a new form and with a new terminology, and publish it as their own original work. I have come across nothing of this sort in American literature. On the other hand, it seems as though in America (possibly owing to the pressure of public opinion) people are much readier than we are in Europe to accept the watered-down and attenuated views of certain of Freud's former disciples. I have noticed too, over here, something of an exaggerated anxiety about the question of lay-analysis, probably because there are many more dangerous quacks in America than with us. With this danger strongly impressed on your minds, you seem to me to undervalue the advantage we derive from the co-operation of thoroughly well-trained lay-analysts, both in medical practice and in social and educational work. There are not enough members of the medical profession to undertake every case of neurosis and to deal with all ' difficult ' children and all adult criminals. Besides, we are obliged to co-operate with non-medical research-workers, analytically trained, in the fields of ethnology, pedagogy, history and biology. I hope that this difference of opinion between Freud and his American followers will soon be satisfactorily settled.

My original intention in speaking to you to-day was to give a

general account of the relation between psychiatry and psycho-analysis. But to have done so would have been merely to add one more to the numerous essays on psycho-analysis which already exist and which you have doubtless read. So I have chosen rather to demonstrate by means of a concrete example how psycho-analysis deals with a special psychiatric problem. I am quite aware of the dangers of this experiment. By leading you to dip into the seething cauldron of psycho-analytic work I shall assuredly rouse the resistance of all those who are not accustomed to contemplate mental symptoms in the light of our analytical understanding of symbols. I hope that the resistance so evoked will be only transitory, and that subsequent experience will convince you that our science is neither as hysterical nor as speculative as it may appear at the first glance.

With your permission I will now enter upon the subject of to-day's lecture. In your observation of patients you have all come across psychotics who had hallucinations about giants and dwarfs, such hallucinations being accompanied by feelings of anxiety and fear. Frequently dwarfs and small creatures appear to such persons in terrifying hordes. Microptic and macroptic illusory distortions of the surrounding world are, indeed, rather more rare, but with alcoholics and hysterics they are by no means uncommon. In general, the old text-books of psychiatry made scarcely any attempt to explain this kind of symptoms and, if they did set out to do so, it was upon a purely physiological basis. For example, they explained an entoptic sensation by cramp in the focussing muscles of the eye or by circulatory disturbances in the retina or the optic brain-centres.

Probably under the influence of Freud's teaching, psychiatrists are now beginning to interest themselves in these symptoms from a more strictly psychological standpoint. Some psychiatrists have given them the name of *Lilliputian* hallucinations.

The deeper psycho-analytical explanation of this symptomatology is, however, still to come. With two decades of psycho-analytical work behind me, I believe that I can throw a little light on this question. Most of my experience in this connection is derived from the dreams of neurotics, particularly of patients suffering from anxiety-neurosis. The dreams in which giants and dwarfs make their appearance are generally, though not invariably, characterized by marked anxiety. Sometimes they have the effect of a nightmare ; in other cases, on the contrary, the magnifying or minimising of a person, an animal

or an inanimate object is accompanied not by anxiety but by a certain pleasurable feeling. In Freud's *Traumdeutung*, which is the principal source of our knowledge about the nature of dreams, we find an explanation of this type of dream : a visual disproportion is somehow connected with the earliest period of childhood. My experience entirely confirms this view. The sudden appearance of giants or magnified objects is always the residue of a childhood recollection dating from a time when, because we ourselves were so small, all other objects seemed gigantic. An unusual reduction in the size of objects and persons, on the other hand, is to be attributed to the compensatory, wish-fulfilling phantasies of the child who wants to reduce the proportions of the terrifying objects in his environment to the smallest possible size. In many dreams the tendency to minimise or magnify is not so plain because the persons minimised or magnified appear not as living beings but in some symbolical disguise. Dreams of landscapes with mountains and valleys, for instance, which represent male or female bodies or parts of bodies, might be termed, from the psycho-analytical point of view, Lilliputian dreams if we compare the relative size of the dreamer with that of the persons or bodily organs symbolically represented by the landscape. The symbolism of staircases, houses and deep hollows, representing the mother, and the appearance of the father or his genital organ in the form of a gigantic tower or tree, bear a certain analogy to Gulliver phantasies. One of the most frequently occurring dream-pictures is that of rescuing someone from water—the sea or a deep well, symbolizing the mother's womb. These rescue dreams are interpreted by Freud as symbolic birth-dreams. In other instances, where the dream represents penetrating into a cellar or some other subterranean place, climbing, going up and down in lifts and so forth, Freud explains it as a distorted coitus-phantasy, generally of coitus with a woman for whom the dreamer has a special respect. In my experience the phantasies of birth represented by rescue from water or by climbing out of, or sinking down into, holes generally admit of a twofold interpretation. The more superficial one, which the patient readily accepts and sometimes even spontaneously proffers, is the birth-phantasy. The more hidden and not so easily accepted over-determination is the phantasy of sexual intercourse with some woman who is held in special esteem, and whose claims to reverence and whose dangerousness are represented by the large size of the symbol. The disguise of phantasies of sexual intercourse as a symbolic birth comes about through the dreamer's substituting his whole body for his sexual

organs. In my opinion this is the principal motive of Lilliputian dreams.

You probably know that Freud himself was the first to recognize the significance for the unconscious of phantasies of the mother's womb. Subsequently I worked out the meaning of these phantasies into a genital theory by showing that the sexual act represents symbolically the desire to return to the mother's womb. Next, Rank came to regard these phantasies of return to the mother's womb and of being born as the central problem of the whole psychology of the neuroses. He holds that ' the trauma of birth ' determines not only the symptomatology of the neurotic but the psychological development of healthy persons. Freud rejects this one-sided and exaggerated view, and I agree with him. We are also unable to adopt the new therapeutic technique which Rank works out on the basis of his theory of the birth-dream.[2] In this he seems to have forgotten many of his own valuable contributions to dream-psychology, especially in connection with the over-determination of both dream-content and neurotic symptoms. Even when he bears in mind the complicated structure of the dream-fabric he undervalues the true significance of the sexual element and the castration-complex and is too much inclined to take literally every association and every phantasy of the patients which sounds like a reference to the trauma of birth.

My experience in the matter of Gulliver phantasies and symbols in neurotics has proved to me beyond any possibility of doubt that phantasies of birth or of return to the mother's womb generally indicate a flight from the sexual trauma to the less terrible idea of being born. For example, one of the most recent of my patients constantly dreamt that she was buried alive in a cave or else that she was a tiny little person who was obliged to hop rhythmically over the spokes of a wheel which was going round quite fast, so that she was in perpetual danger of being crushed by it. Sometimes, too, she was suddenly tempted to jump out of the window. All these dream-phantasies and impulses are explained by the patient herself as representations of birth, but a more thorough analysis has shown that the whole complex of phantasies of birth and the mother's womb was simply the Lilliputian disguise of sexual temptations. The same patient often dreamt of tiny little black men, and in one of her phantasies during free association she felt

[2] Cf. Zur Kritik der Rankschen *Technik der Psychoanalyse. Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. XIII, 1927.

impelled to eat them all up. A quite spontaneous association to these thoughts was that of eating dark-coloured fæces and then of biting and devouring a penis. By eating these up she felt that her whole body was in some way transformed into a male genital; in this guise she could in her unconscious phantasies have sexual intercourse with women. These associations reveal the masculine trend in the patient's disposition as well as the fact that the tiny creatures in her dreams represent not only birth but, in a deeper mental stratum, her sexual tendencies and her penis-envy.

One of my male patients recollects that in the masturbation-phantasies of his youth there was a little, imaginary, female figure which he always carried in his pocket and from time to time took out and played with. This patient had had a number of dreams all his life, which recurred also during his analysis, in which he found himself placed in an enormous room. You will already have guessed that this man's sexual potency was very inconsiderable. He came into the category of those men who with cultivated women whom they respect suffer either from *ejaculatio præcox* or complete inability to achieve erection and are potent only with prostitutes. These are only some of the many instances which have proved to me that Lilliputian phantasies of the uterus are characteristic of persons whose sexual development has not been sufficiently normal for them to make the penis in coitus a completely valid equivalent for the whole body. Freud also came to the conclusion that (as I suggest in my genital theory) persons who cannot attain to this level of sexual reality show a preference for phantasies in which they substitute the whole body for the sexual organ.

A patient who suffers from a grave obsessional neurosis said that in his masturbation-phantasies he always imagined himself a big man, surrounded by a whole harem of tiny women, who served, washed and caressed him, combed his pubic hair and then played with his genital till ejaculation ensued. In both these last two patients the real anxiety is the fear of castration associated with the idea of sexual intercourse, and both the Gulliver phantasies and those of the mother's womb are simply substitutes, by a process of displacement, for the painful idea of being castrated on account of incestuous desires.

Phantasies connected with the birth-trauma may well be compared with examination-dreams which often occur in impotent neurotics during the night before they attempt some sexual activity in regard to which they feel themselves unequal. Generally they dream, with

an accompaniment of great anxiety, that they are being examined in some subject in which they are in reality thoroughly versed or even have already successfully passed an examination. Now, the experience of birth is for us all a test which we have successfully passed, and it can therefore serve as a less terrible substitute for a real, actual sexual task which is dreaded and for the menace of castration with which this is associated. The comparison of Lilliputian and birth-phantasies with examination-dreams holds good, I think, in yet another respect, namely, the fact that there is no other trauma for which we are so well prepared as for that of birth. Birth itself is, as Freud was the first to emphasize, certainly a shock, but the preparation for the difficulties of extra-uterine life and the great care which the maternal instinct lavishes on the child immediately after birth make the trauma as light as possible.

When it comes to the child's sexual development, on the other hand, there appears to be no inherited instinct in either father or mother which can assist it. On the contrary, parents often intimidate their children by threats of castration, and this is the greatest and most important ' trauma ' which leads to neurosis. Passing or, ' transitory ' symptoms which I have observed in my patients' analyses have sometimes revealed a sudden displacement of genital sensations or sexual excitations to the whole surface of the body. For instance, by a process of hysterical conversion, erection has been represented by a rush of blood to the head. In a whole series of cases of repressed male homosexuality I found that in moments of sexual excitement the whole surface of the skin became burning hot. It is not unlikely that the German slang expression used of homosexuals, ' hot brothers,' has its origin in this symptom. In some other cases patients have told me that, instead of an erection, they experience a sudden rigidity of all their muscles. I have found that many cases of neurotic spinal rigidity or passing cramps of the leg-muscles could be similarly explained, Possibly this sort of conversion-symptom forms the physiological substructure upon which is erected the psychic superstructure of the Gulliver phantasies.

As I have already said, it is almost as common to meet with a tendency to magnify or minimize the male body as the female. The material derived from the associations of patients with this kind of phantasy is in the case of male children clearly connected with the boy's dread of a gigantic father—a dread proceeding from the comparison of his own genital organs with those of his father.

The fear of castration and mutilation, or the dread of being eaten up or swallowed, is apparently even greater in the unconscious than the dread of death. So long as we are not mutilated the unconscious regards being buried, drowned or swallowed up as a kind of continued existence *in toto*. Apparently it cannot grasp the idea that death betokens a complete cessation of existence, whilst even the slight symbolic suggestion of mutilation, such as cutting the hair or nails, or a threat with a sword, knife or scissors, or even with the index-finger, may produce an intense reaction in the form of an outbreak of castration-anxiety. A little boy in his dreams and phantasies prefers to picture himself as a dwarf who is devoured by the terrible father, but whose genital is thereby secure from castration, rather than to imagine that he is of natural life-size but that his genitals are exposed to the danger of mutilation. Similarly, a little girl prefers the oral phantasy of being eaten up but preserving her genital organs intact to the idea of being injured in these organs by the penis of the male. (This last would be to accept without reservation her lack of the penis.)

I must confess that I should not have had the courage to tell you about all these unconscious phantasies, which are only reconstructed from dreams and based on what patients have said, if I were not certain that you in your capacity of psychiatrists must have often had occasion to convince yourselves of the existence of active and passive castration tendencies which frequently manifest themselves quite clearly in psychosis. In my monograph entitled *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie* [3] I tried to account theoretically for this high estimation of the penis by showing that the sexual organs, in particular the penis and the clitoris, are the pleasure-reservoir of the whole individual and are prized by the ego as a kind of second personality which I have termed the libidinal ego. You know how often children and the common people call the genital by pet names as though it were an independent being.

I will now try to enliven the monotony of this somewhat dry and theoretical argument by reading some passages from the two first journeys of our friend and colleague, Gulliver, in the hope that perhaps they will make my constructions seem somewhat more probable.

Let us take the description of Gulliver's awaking in the land of Lilliput: 'When I awaked it was just daylight. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: for, as I happened to lie on my back, I found

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[3] *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek*, 1925.

my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground ; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my armpits to my thighs. I could only look upwards, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving over my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast came almost up to my chin ; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright ; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground '.

This description has a great similarity to the apparitions seen by our neurotic patients who so often tell us how they are frightened by little animals and manikins sitting on their breasts.

Anyone who wishes to explain everything by the trauma of birth will probably lay stress on another detail, a suspicious number which appears on page 89 of this edition.[4] Here Gulliver states that he lived for nine months and thirteen days in the land of the Lilliputians—a period which exactly corresponds to the duration of pregnancy. On the other hand we may cite the fact that the little Lilliputians were just six inches long and that this number is suspicious from another point of view, especially since Gulliver happens to say that the Lilliputians were ' rather longer than my middle finger ' and further, that he could not be mistaken in this estimation ' for I have often held them in my hand '. (He is referring to the Lilliputians !)

A little further on he says : ' Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts and linen. . . . They took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my mid-leg. . . . Then they measured my right thumb and desired no more ; for, by a mathematical computation, twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and waist. . . .' It is significant that it is just the finger, the typical genital symbol, which is taken as the standard measure for the whole body. It will have struck you, as it did me at the time, how similar this phantasy of being

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[4] [The author is quoting from the Tauchnitz Edition.—Trans.]

served by so many tiny women is to the masturbation-phantasies of one of my patients.

The strong exhibitionist tendencies of Gulliver and his great desire that the Lilliputians should admire him for the size of his genital are very clearly revealed in the following description of a parade held by the Lilliputian army in his honour: 'The Emperor desired I would stand like a Colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could; he then commanded his general . . . to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me . . . with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. . . . His Majesty gave orders upon pain of death that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency with regard to my person, which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes as they passed under me . . . and to confess the truth, my breeches were at the time in so ill a condition that they afforded some opportunity for laughter and admiration'.

Does not this sound exactly like the reassurance-phantasy or dream of an impotent man who in waking life suffers from the idea that his penis is too small and in consequence of his sense of inferiority is shy of showing his organ and in dreams basks in the admiration of those whose penes are even smaller than his own?

A still worse offence brings Gulliver into the extreme peril of his life. I refer to the incident of his urinating before the Empress. As you perhaps know, the queen or empress is one of the typical symbols of the mother. A fire breaks out in the Empress's apartments and the Lilliputians are unable to extinguish it.

Fortunately our hero Gulliver is at hand and performs this herioc task as follows: 'I had the evening before,' he says,' drunk plentifully of a most delicious wine . . . which is very diuretick. By the luckiest chance in the world, I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine, which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was fully extinguished. . . .'

Everyone who is acquainted with the mode of expression used by the unconscious will know that the extinguishing of a conflagration in a woman's house, especially when this is done by urinating into it, represents the child's idea of sexual intercourse, the woman being symbolized by the house. The heat mentioned by Gulliver is the symbol of the male's passionate desire (and at the same time fire stands

for the dangers to which the genital is exposed). And, in point of fact, with Gulliver the threat of punishment follows hard upon the misdeed and characteristically proceeds from the Emperor, the typical father-substitute: 'I could not tell how His Majesty might resent the manner by which I had performed it. For by the fundamental laws of the realm it is capital in any person of what quality soever to make water within the precincts of the palace. . . .' 'They assured me in secret that the Empress, conceiving the greatest horror of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the Court and . . . could not forbear vowing revenge'. The death penalty is revoked by the mercy of the Emperor, but Gulliver cannot escape punishment in another form. The sentence ran as follows: 'The said Quimbus Flestrin' (the Man Mountain)—the Lilliputians' name for Gulliver—'in open breach of the law, under cover of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of His Majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace'. But, of his clemency, the Emperor condemned him merely to the loss of his eyes, which would not impair his bodily power and would enable him still to be useful to His Majesty. The punishment, you see, is the same as that which King Œdipus inflicted on himself for his sexual intercourse with his mother. And countless times our analytical experience shows us beyond a shadow of doubt that putting out the eyes may be a symbolic distortion of the punishment of castration.

But even in peril of death and mutilation our hero Gulliver cannot deny himself the satisfaction of suggesting a reason for this sentence, namely, that he was not only able 'to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in Her Majesty's apartment, but he might at another time raise an inundation by the same means to drown the whole palace'.

As you know, Gulliver succeeded in escaping from the Lilliputians, who had by now become so hostile to him, but fate still dogged his footsteps, and on his next journey he fell into the hands of the giants of Brobdingnag. His very first experience with one of the natives of this land is a symbolic representation of the danger of castration. 'The man appeared as tall as an ordinary spire-steeple . . . and had a reaping-hook in his hand about the largeness of six scythes'. Gulliver was very nearly cut in two with the reaping-hook, but he 'screamed as loud as fear could' make him, whereupon the huge creature seized him between his forefinger and thumb, regarded him as a curiosity and then

gave him as a plaything to his wife and children. He called his wife and showed him to her ; ' but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider '.

Women's abhorrence of spiders, toads and other little creeping things is well known as an hysterical symptom. A disciple of the theory of the trauma of birth would say that this anxiety was simply conditioned by the fact that little reptiles are the symbol for little children who might creep in or out of the genital. My analytical experiences, however, all go to confirm Freud's idea that the deeper meaning of such little creatures, especially of those which move rhythmically, is really that they represent symbolically the genital organ and function, and that the sight or touch of them therefore produces the kind of disgust which is the woman's primary reaction to her first contact with the genitals. I should not hesitate to interpret a dream in which such creatures appeared as the identification of a whole (here, of an animal's) body with the male sexual organ and to class it with those cases in which women in their dreams or phantasies are made uneasy by little creatures or manikins.

As he became a plaything, Gulliver had the opportunity to observe the most intimate functions of the gigantic women and girls from quite near by, and he is untiring in describing the frightful impressions produced in him by their monstrous dimensions : ' I must confess no object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with so as to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape and colour. It stood prominently six feet and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head and the hue both of that and the dug so varied with spots, pimples and freckles that nothing could appear more nauseous : for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table. This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying glass ; where we find by experiment that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough and coarse and ill-coloured '.

In my opinion it would be far-fetched to explain the dread of the large holes in the women's skin as a recollection of the trauma of birth. It is much more probable that Gulliver is the embodiment of a type of male whose sexual courage vanishes in the presence of a young English lady with her delicate skin and who prefers to complain of the difficulty

of the task before him and the lack of charm of the object of his love rather than to admit his own inadequacy. An interesting contrast to the heroic extinguishing of the fire is given in a later chapter in a scene where Gulliver is obliged to urinate in the presence of one of the giant women. He signed to her not to look or to follow him, and then he hid himself between two sorrel-leaves and there satisfied the needs of nature. Further he tells us that the young maids of honour often examined him and touched him for the mere pleasure they took in it. ' They would often strip me naked from top to toe and then lay me at full length in their bosoms; wherewith I was much disgusted, because to say the truth a very offensive smell came from their skins which I do not mention or intend to the disadvantage of these excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect. . . . That which gave me most uneasiness among these maids of honour was to see them use me without any manner of ceremony like a creature who had no sort of concupiscence, for they would strip themselves to the skin and put their smocks off in my presence, while I was placed on their toilet table directly before their naked bodies, which I am sure to me was very far from being a tempting sight or from giving me any other emotions than those of horror and disgust. Their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured, when I saw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than pack threads, to say nothing farther concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drank to the quantity of at least two hogsheads, in a vessel that held above three tons. The handsomest among these maids of honour, a pleasant frolicsome girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her nipples, with many other tricks wherein the reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But I was so much displeased that I entreated Glumdalclitch to contrive some excuse for not seeing that young lady any more '.

I am sure that you know that according to the findings of psycho-analysis two dreams dreamt in the same night often throw light on one another. The same could be maintained of the first two sections of *Gulliver's Travels*. The adventure in Lilliput represents the wish-fulfilling part of the dream—it is a description of large size and male potency in his own person. The terrible experiences in Brobdingnag reveal to us the motives of the tendency to self-magnification; his dread lest he should fail in rivalry and in strife with other men and his impotence with women.

Of course, in the story of the second journey there are suggestions of the situations of birth and intra-uterine existence. During the whole period of his sojourn in the land of the giants Gulliver was carried about by a young girl in a travelling box, in which at the four corners of the top a hammock was fixed by silken ropes to break the jolts, and the manner in which he finally escaped from the dangerous land of the giants is still more significant. He woke up and felt his box raised very high in the air and then borne forward with prodigious speed. ' The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterwards the motion was easy enough. I then began to perceive the woeful condition I was in, that some eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body and devour it. . . .

' I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle . . . and then, all on a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down for about a minute, but with such incredible swiftness that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by a terrible squash that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara, after which I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to rise so high that I could see light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the sea. . . . I got with much difficulty out of my hammock . . . to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled. How often then did I wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch from whom one single hour had so far divided me ! ' (Glumdalclitch was the name of the girl who carried him about and whose plaything he was.)

No analyst would take exception to an attempt to interpret this escape as a birth-phantasy—the natural end of pregnancy, which is represented by being carried about in a box. On the other hand, dreams of a similar sort give us no reason to suppose that this scene represents details of the individual birth, as Rank assumes. It is much more probable that Gulliver and other people into whose dreams birth-phantasies enter transform and diminish quite real sexual dangers to which they feel unequal into injuries dating from childhood or even from fœtal life. Almost as though the author wished to make clear beyond any doubt that in Gulliver's journey the whole body really represents the male organ and coitus, he adds to the description of the escape that, one of the few tokens of remembrance which he had saved from the giant mother was ' a gold ring which one day she made me a present of in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger,

and throwing it over my head like a collar '. Students of folk-lore and psycho-analysts agree in the belief that putting on a wedding ring is a symbolic representation of coitus, the ring standing for the female, and the finger for the male sexual organ. Thus when the giantess takes her ring from her little finger and throws it round Gulliver's neck she simply expresses by this gesture the idea that only his head would be big enough to fulfil the sexual task for which normally an organ of the size of a finger suffices.

The fact that all creations of genius are characterized by the remarkable number of interpretations which may be put upon them has made it possible for *Gulliver's Travels* to be interpreted in the most varied ways. Despite their superficiality, these interpretations have a certain basis in fact. In his short biography of Jonathan Swift, the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, Walter Scott tells us how the different classes of society reacted to the book. Readers in higher social circles saw in the book a personal and political satire ; the common people looked upon it as a story of exciting adventures ; romantic persons admired the element of the supernatural which it contained; the young loved its cleverness and its wit ; thoughtful people read into it moral and political teaching. But neglected old age and disappointed ambition found in it only the maxims of a sad and embittered misanthropy.

These may be called the preconscious interpretations, whereas psycho-analysis would aim at explaining also the unconscious meaning of the *Travels*. Perhaps if we study the life-history of Jonathan Swift it will help us to decide on the value or otherwise of our interpretation. A large number of authors have devoted whole volumes to this extraordinary personality, but, as far as I know, Hanns Sachs is the only psycho-analyst who has made Swift the subject of a psycho-analytical study. Even the very fleeting glances which I myself have been able to take at Swift's life-history throw light upon certain data which support my notion about the phantasies of magnifying and minimizing in *Gulliver's Travels*. I will quote briefly some of the most important facts of Swift's life.

Jonathan Swift was born on November 30, 1667. Towards the end of his life he kept his birthday always as a day of fasting and mourning and never omitted to read the third chapter of the book of Job. Richard Brennan, the servant in whose arms he died, tells us that in the infrequent lucid intervals of Swift's fatal illness he seemed to be conscious of this date, as was seen from the fact that he constantly repeated the

words : ' Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the light in which it was said there is a man-child conceived '. Swift was a posthumous child. A remarkable occurrence removed him for a time from the care of his uncle and his mother. The nurse who had charge of the child was so devoted to him that she stole him from his mother and took him across the Channel. His delicate health and the difficulty in those days of finding an opportunity to cross prevented his being sent back for three years.

It is probably not too rash to assume that these abnormal situations and events of his youth made an ineffaceable impression on Swift and exercised a great influence on his subsequent development, possibly also increasing his interest in adventurous travels. It seems to me unnecessary to seek for abnormal physiological difficulties in the child's birth when the pathogenetic factors during his childhood are so patent.

Our psycho-analytical experience teaches us that sons who grow up without a father are seldom normal in their sexual life ; most of them become neurotic or homosexual. The fixation to the mother is in these cases by no means the result of any birth-trauma, but must be attributed to the lack of a father, with whom a boy has to fight out the Œdipus conflict and whose presence helps to resolve the castration-anxiety through the process of identification. Naturally, the excessive spoiling which the boy is likely to receive from mother and nurse makes him less able to compete with other boys, and this disability is often one of the principal causes of disturbances of sexual potency. Moreover, when there is no father, the mother is the only person in whom resides the power of discipline or—in sexual matters—of castration, and this often leads to an exaggeration of the boy's normal reserve and timidity in his relations with women whom he reveres, or indeed with women altogether. Swift's later behaviour, especially in the sphere of sex, does actually show that he was a neurotic. Thus for example he began a flirtation with a Miss Waring whom he affectionately called Varina, as his biography tells us : ' The courtship so far as it can be traced is supremely ridiculous. While the lady was coy and cold, nothing could equal the impetuosity of the lover, but when after a long resistance she unexpectedly surrendered at discretion, the lover suddenly disappeared, the warm epistles to " Varina " were changed into a cold formal " Miss Jane Waring " . . . . in which it was hinted in unequivocal terms that the impatient suitor would be a reluctant bridegroom. The lady with proper spirit broke off all inter-

course and Swift was free to try his arts on a more unfortunate victim'. It is interesting that in contrast to this exaggerated scrupulousness rumour in that part of England has it that Swift committed an indecent assault on the daughter of a farmer and that criminal charges were laid against him on oath before Mr. Dobbs, the mayor of the neighbouring town.

The accounts of his subsequent famous marriage with Mrs. Esther Johnson—better known by her poetic name of Stella—on the other hand show marked dependence and passionateness from the beginning of their acquaintance. Walter Scott, it is true, quotes a remark of Swift's about his love-story which seems to contradict this: 'It is a habit which I could easily renounce and which I could leave without regret at the gate of the sanctuary'. And so it actually came about. Swift married Stella only on condition that their marriage should remain secret and that they should continue to live apart. Thus, these details of his private life do really reveal the far-reaching consequences of the disturbances in his development as a child. From the psychoanalytical standpoint one would describe his neurotic sexual behaviour as an inhibition of normal potency, with a lack of courage in relation to women of good character and perhaps with a lasting aggressive tendency towards women of a lower type. This insight into Swift's life surely justifies us who come after him in treating the phantasies in *Gulliver's Travels* exactly as we do the free associations of neurotic patients in analysis, especially when interpreting their dreams. The disadvantage of such an analysis *in absentia* is that the patient cannot confirm our conclusions; the scientific advantage of a posthumous analysis, on the other hand, is that the analyst cannot in this case be accused of having suggested to the analysand the statements made by the latter. I think that the biographical argument confirms our supposition that Gulliver phantasies in which persons and objects are magnified or minimized express the sense of genital inadequacy of a person whose sexual activities have been inhibited by intimidation and fixations in early childhood.

My analysis of Swift and his masterpiece has perhaps been too long, but I think it bears out my suggested interpretation of the Lilliputian and Brobdingnagian phantasies and symptoms met with in psychotic and neurotic patients and in dreams.

I cannot do better than conclude with a slightly altered quotation from Gulliver himself: 'I hope my readers will excuse me for dwelling on these and similar particulars; however insignificant they may

appear, yet they may perhaps help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and imagination so that he may apply them to the benefit of public as well as of private life '.

I thank you once more for your invitation and for the patience with which you have listened to me.

THE PSYCHICAL EFFECTS OF INTOXICATION: ATTEMPT AT A PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL THEORY OF DRUG-ADDICTION

BY

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Intoxicants are substances of the most varied origin and of a chemical character (alkaloids, substances of the alcohol group, etc.) which, if absorbed occasionally or habitually, produce effects of a narcotic, stimulating and intoxicating nature in mental life. Pharmacology has more or less throughly investigated the influence of these substances on our somatic and psychical organic functions, so that we know their specific effects according to the use made of them and the amount of the dose. This information, however, only holds good as an average (statistical) computation ; it cannot be said with certainty beforehand how a particular person in a particular case will react to the absorption of a poisonous substance. Pharmacology takes this state of affairs into account by assuming a ' constitutional factor ' ; according to Lewin [1] each individual has his own ' toxic equation ', the composition of which, however, is completely unknown, nor does it admit of further investigation by the pharmacologist.

Daily experience shews us how great is this uncertainty just in the matter of the specific effects of intoxicants. Many people are reduced to a state of intoxication by quite a small amount of alcohol ; others will drink a lot and actually succumb to the physical effects of intoxication, and yet remain sober. Indeed the behaviour of one and the same person can in the course of time alter fundamentally in this respect without our knowing why. One observes similar phenomena when administering morphine and other narcotic medicines. It is the view of psychiatrists that this unknown factor—the individual predisposition or tendency to intoxication—plays the decisive part in the ætiology of drug-taking and kindred states.

Let us try to penetrate this obscure territory from the point of view of psycho-analysis. Pharmacology classifies the various effects of intoxication from its own standpoint. We aim at a psychological (to be more exact, a metapsychological) survey of the question, and ask : what are the superior qualities of these substances by virtue of

[1] Lewin, *Phantastica : die betäubenden und evregenden Genussmittel.* Berlin, 1924, S. 15

which they are made use of both therapeutically and in ordinary life ? The answer is simple : they offer man help and pleasure in his troubles. And the ' help ' may be of two kinds ; it is obtained (*a*) by the analgesic (sedative, hypnotic) and (*b*) by the stimulating effect of the drugs.

Hitherto the means by which these effects are attained have not been investigated analytically. Let us see what can be said about their character at a first approach.

(*a*) In order to discuss the alleviating effect of the so-called ' analgesics ' we must go into the problem of pain in general. According to Freud's [2] view, which has provided a sure foundation for the psychological conception of this difficult question, the specific discomfort of bodily pain arises when something breaks through the peripheral barrier against stimuli, thus causing continuous excitations to flow from the place affected to the central mental apparatus. Through the failure of the protective barrier the pain, even when it comes from without, acquires the qualities of the continuous internal stimuli, of the instincts, that is to say, against which the arrangements for warding off the stimuli are powerless from the start. In the mental apparatus the pleasure-pain regulation which holds sway there causes the oncoming mass of excitation to be bound by the setting up of anti-cathexes and to be discharged by means of motor actions. The success of these defensive processes in overcoming pain is dependent on quantitative factors. Experience shows that once a certain intensity of pain-excitation has been reached mental life succumbs to it without defence. The biological purpose of pain, to give warning of a threatening danger,[3] fails completely at this point.

Now it is easy to see that by reducing or abolishing the sensation of pain drugs provide just what the mental organization lacks, an internal barrier against stimuli. This artificial barrier functions centrally at the sensory openings into the mental apparatus, as if it were a secondary defence zone. The somatic process which conditions it invariably consists of diminishing the function through paralysing the sensitive nerve substance, a method therefore which is used on occasion even by the natural peripheral protective barrier.[4]

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[2] *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, p. 30.

[3] Goldscheider, *Das Schmerzproblem*. Berlin, 1920, S. 81.

[4] In local anæsthesia the action of the peripheral protective-barrier is intensified to the point where the receptive function is completely eliminated owing to paralysis of the sensory terminal apparatus.

Physicians are agreed that our most valuable analgesic would still appear to be morphine, although the chemical industry works hard to establish ever new specifically effective compounds. L. Lévy [5] has recently published one of the few psycho-analytical observations on this subject. He reports that in a series of severe organic cases where morphine was successfully administered he was able to observe a remarkable phenomenon : in their phantasies the patients projected their serious condition on to persons in their environment. In connection with our problem we should attach considerable theoretical importance to this discovery of Lévy's. As is well known, Freud has traced the origin of projection to the impulse to treat internal excitations ' as though they were acting not from within but from without, in order for it to be possible to apply against them the defensive measures of the barrier against stimuli.[6] Now if, as we suppose, morphine analgesia is an artificial internal barrier, then Lévy's observation supplies a direct experimental proof of the close connection between protective barrier and projection.

The overcoming of sleeplessness by means of sleep-promoting remedies or the toxic induction of sleep (narcosis) do not at present admit of closer analytical description, because we know almost nothing about the particulars of these conditions. If one considers that sleeplessness depends on the refractoriness of internal disturbing stimuli, which neither obey the wish for sleep nor share in the general withdrawal of cathexis, then one may assume that even in the sleep-bringing (and sedative) effect of drugs the setting up of an internal protective barrier plays a part. But with narcosis the psychological situation certainly goes beyond this.

(*b*) The specific effect of the stimulants is the one best known to us and of the most general significance, since these substances are part of our daily food in the shape of beverages (coffee, tea, etc.). Nevertheless we come up against great difficulties in the attempt to understand psychologically the processes of stimulation. It is clear that the common statement that stimulants have an invigorating effect on our intellectual functions is of little service to us. We know from pharmacology that, strictly speaking, there are no pure stimulants, since these substances affect the different nerve-centres electively, partly stimulating and partly paralysing them. Perhaps the only

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[5] *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. X, 1924, S. 434.

[6] *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, p. 33.

exception is caffeine, with its almost exclusively stimulating effect, nor is this succeeded by a paralytic phase. We must assume that the influence of these substances on the individual brain-centres and functions is very much more extensive and delicately graded in its electivity than pharmacology is able to demonstrate to-day. For psychological observation shows us that the psychical effect of these substances is composed of the interplay of stimulating and paralysing influences. We perceive that these substances produce in us feelings of tension and at the same time remove existing tensions, the final result thus being a transformation of painful tensions into pleasurable ones. Unfortunately the value of this simple statement is diminished by the fact that we know so little of these two kinds of tension.

On the other hand we must not underestimate the importance of the established fact that a toxic strengthening of our ego-functions is connected with the change in the feeling-tone of our internal tensions. Behind this fact lie concealed the economic assumptions concerning our ego-functions in general, and it is possible that we may find here the path that will lead to their discovery. Let us consider the situation where the ego resorts to a toxic strengthening of its functions. We have already said that the ego stands in need of this help in its difficulties, in the hard fight it wages to maintain its existence. Freud has impressively described for us 'the subordinate relationships of the ego'.[7] The ego must be for ever vigilantly adapting itself to satisfy the demands of reality and at the same time to do justice to its two internal taskmasters—the libido of the id and the demands of conscience. Introspection shows that the libidinal instinctual tensions, as well as the conscience-tensions (the so-called sense of guilt), constantly manifest themselves in consciousness, even if only as a vague uneasiness, when the ego succeeds in holding at a distance the ideas connected with them or when these are from the outset incapable of becoming conscious. Similarly one sees that the Ucs gratification-phantasies of the libidinal object-instincts and of the self-satisfied ideal (super-ego) become manifest in consciousness in the form of an indefinite feeling of pleasure (good-humour).[8] Sometimes one succeeds in catching such Ucs products in analysis, and then one can see how stimulants bring about the psychical change of mood. They create a free path for intentions which have been interrupted by

[7] *The Ego and the Id*, p. 68.

[8] These facts must also play an important part in the effect which music has on our mental life.

decoying the disturbing (inhibiting) influences (chiefly conscience-tensions) with Ucs gratification and so clearing them out of the way. It appears that over and above this the function directing the intention experiences a directly strengthening influence ; whereupon an approach of instinctual sources otherwise cut off would be made possible by an extensive connection between the ego-contents and the symbol-cathexes of the id, or a partial transition, dependent on this, from the fixed course of the secondary process to the primary process. The essential part of this action takes place in the system Pcs ; the rigid fetters of this system are relaxed, its ' transmission-resistances ' diminished. We observe that in the processes of stimulation there really takes place a successful sexualization of the ego-functions.

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The second way in which drugs manifest their effect is in the production of pleasurable states (euphoria, narcosis, intoxication), the intensity and quality of which varies very widely. The variety of the phenomena under consideration is increased to an extraordinary degree by the special qualities and secondary effects of particular drugs, by the way in which they are used as well as by the varied disturbances in the individual's capacity for reaction. Let us choose from this the type of what may be called ' perfect ' effect, as we have it more or less in a successful morphine euphoria or in a blissful opium intoxication. The erotic character of these states—which was long ago pointed out by Abraham—is immediately evident. But this suggestion can be pursued much further, and we are then obliged to aver that there is an essential similarity between an ideal form of intoxication and the terminal pleasure of natural sexual enjoyment, the orgasm. The decisive characteristic of the genital orgasm, which entitles it to be considered a gratification *sui generis*, can only reside in the fact that the orgastic feeling of sensual pleasure rapidly loses its originally local character and affects the whole organism most intensely in a manner which baffles closer investigation.[9] This is never the case with gratifications of the erotic component-instincts, and with the ordinary sensations of pleasure in the erotogenic zones ; their local colouring remains during the whole course of the excitation, which—so far as our present knowledge reaches—is not capable of general diffusion. But it is precisely this trait which recurs in a very marked form in the

[9] The diffusion of the orgastic excitation over the whole vegetative nervous system has already been investigated physiologically. Cf. L. R. Müller, *Das vegetative Nervensystem*, Berlin, 1920.

clinical picture of intoxication. We feel ourselves justified, therefore, in describing the induction of this kind of pleasure as the *orgastic* effect of intoxicants. In comparison with the steep curve of the genital orgasm, the pharmacotoxic or pharmacogenic orgasm presents as a rule an extended course; we shall come back again to this striking difference in the two phenomena.

One must now ask whether this conception of the orgastic effect of intoxicants may be extended from the 'perfect' type of effect to all others also. The capacity of particular drugs and of different individuals in achieving this effect certainly differs very much; but observation has left hardly a doubt that in every case the process tends to have this outcome. To be practical we must of course take into account every grade of intensity, nor must we be led astray by those cases in which the orgastic effect is qualitatively atrophied or completely wanting. For that matter, the genital orgasm as well is often enough subject to similar disturbances. Even the condition of 'stimulation', which on theoretical grounds we distinguish so sharply from pure pleasure-states, proves in the light of this knowledge to be a most successfully effected 'minimal dose' of orgastic sensation.

In the pharmacogenic orgasm the individual becomes acquainted with a new kind of erotic gratification, which enters into rivalry with the natural modes of sexual gratification. It is characterized by quite unusual advantages, and the more the normal possibilities of gratification are interfered with by neurosis or unfavourable circumstances the more alluring it must appear. The decisive turning-point occurs when the ego takes up its stand on the desire for intoxication, and so brings the whole of its libidinal capacity to meet the experience of the pharmacotoxic orgasm. Once intoxication has become the sexual aim of the individual he has fallen a victim to the craving, and it is only seldom that anyone succeeds in preventing it from developing further. In this connection it makes hardly any difference whether he deliberately gave way to the temptation or whether his first vivid experience of the pleasure of intoxication was made on the occasion of a medical application of the drug. Only too often we may observe an instructive initial phase in which the patient denies to himself his desire for intoxication; he continues to make use of the drug as medicine, to combat his suffering, to strengthen his capacities, or to increase his potency—but in reality he has long been subject to its orgastic effect and has turned away from the 'reality-principle' into the dangerous region of a blind obedience to the instincts.

On the other hand we now see why it is that sometimes taking an intoxicant leads neither to intoxication or to orgastic relief of tension : first and foremost because the longing for it, the desire for intoxication, is wanting. And, further, in place of the desire for intoxication an intense inhibition—in the form of prudence or a reaction of conscience—may occur, which fetters the libidinal transformations and thereby prevents the occurrence of intoxication even with a considerable dose.

Addiction to pharmacotoxic gratification is accompanied by decisive results for the entire psychical and somatic condition of the person concerned. In view of the great variety of the states resulting from drug-addiction which come under clinical observation, this compressed review of the subject must be confined to the consideration of some of its principal characteristics. The main scene of the transformations is of course the libido, for erotic gratification by means of drugs constitutes a violent attack on our biological sexual organization, a bold advance on the part of our ' alloplastic ' culture. Let us confine ourselves to indulgence in morphine and the very ' modern ' way of imbibing the drug by means of the Pravaz syringe. To put it briefly, this method cuts out the whole peripheral sexual apparatus and causes the exciting stimuli to affect the central organ directly like a short circuit. I propose that this state of affairs, which deserves a name to call attention to it, should be described as ' meta-erotism.[10] With the advance in organic chemistry, the manufacture of the most exquisitely pleasurable (sexual) substances is surely only a question of time, and it is easy to prophesy that this mode of gratification will play a part as yet incalculable in the future of the human race.

The elimination of the genital and of the other erotogenic zones, with their complex interplay, and the slow course of their excitation first undermines genital potency and then rapidly leads to a turning away from the—now uninteresting—real love-subjects. Morphine, like most intoxicants, is a dangerous potency poison, which rapidly assumes a monopoly as the source of pleasure. Along with the abandonment of sexual love there begins a weakening of the relations

[10] I prefer this expression to the obvious ' para-erotism,' which is more appropriately reserved as the scientific designation of the perversions. The many terminological proposals made in this essay should be justified by the circumstance that in it I have attempted to consider an extensive range of facts which has not so far been thoroughly investigated analytically.

to reality, of course with the exception of the drug itself; the whole interest of the patient becomes then gradually concentrated on the procuring of it.

But meta-erotism not only destroys genital potency, it also reduces the value of all other natural means of obtaining pleasure and replaces them by the pharamacotoxic orgasm as the instrument of gratification. We have to conceive of the pharmacogenic orgasm as an *executive* process which effects a discharge for the entire psychosexual excitation in much the same way as onanism does in the child.

Now what form does the libido take, psychically considered, after the real love-objects and genital activity have been given up? As always, when genital primacy goes under the pre-genital organizations come into their own. An extensive regression re-activates the erotic strivings of infancy; the Œdipus complex breaks out anew, and it depends in the first place on the vicissitudes of the infantile history and the fixation-points of the libido which impulses and wish-phantasies then come to the fore. Daydreams and phantasies entirely comparable to onanistic phantasies begin to be produced, of which the excitation is then discharged in the pharmacotoxic orgasm. In the blissful phantasies of the opium-eater, as writers have described them, there clearly occur even wish-fulfilling hallucinations. Every hidden source of pleasure which can contribute to increase the intoxication may thus add its share to the gratification. Even the genital libido, after its withdrawal from reality, may be retained for a while in phantasy — as an excitation belonging to the Œpidus complex — and becomes manifest in the symbolic value attached to the syringe, etc.

In many cases the significance of particular erotogenic zones is so strong that they as it were save their lives by passing over into the meta-erotic regime; they can then be retained as places and means of applying the drug, and take their place with their specific excitation or symbol-cathexis as a kind of fore-pleasure mechanism in the meta-erotic organization. In this respect the oral zone, whose intimate relations to intoxicants are familiar, has an unrivalled position. Certainly drunkenness was the earliest form of drug-taking, and it is still perhaps the most widely distributed. Broadly speaking, there is hardly an available part of the body which might not be used for the assimilation of the poison, and the various ways of applying it are also astonishingly numerous.

If one ventures to compare artificial meta-erotism with the natural organizations of the libido, then some further points may be gained

which in the confusing abundance of the phenomena serve to illuminate our survey. One then sees clearly that the pharmacogenic orgasm may be subject to just as many disturbances and produce just as many pathological reactions—of a second order, so to speak—as a normal process in life. First and foremost, on account of its great practical importance in respect of the curability of an addict, we have the phenomenon of incapacity to obtain a pharmacotoxic orgasm when it is desired as a pleasure—*pharmacotoxic impotence.* It seems premature to give at this time a picture of the psychical instinctual forces and processes which can produce this condition—and on occasion even in the initial stages of the illness. In any case we must particularly emphasize the fact that with most poisons for physiological reasons (' habituation ') this incapacity sooner or later necessarily supervenes, nor can it be overcome even by the most desperate efforts on the part of the patient. Another group of phenomena is presented to us by the results, familiar to us in the theory of the neuroses, of an unsuccessful attempt at defence or a severe reaction of conscience. This defence completely spoils or frustrates the intended pharmacogenic orgasm, but it is directed against its psychical superstructure, against the forbidden impulses of the Œdipus complex, which have been re-activated by the meta-erotism. Thus as the neurotic reverse side of blissful intoxication one meets with the most frightful anxiety-conditions, torturing excitations, horrible visions, etc. In this connection the particular poisons behave very variously. With many drugs (e.g. cocaine) the specific action is from the start complicated by such phenomena. Only thorough analyses can give us insight into all these conditions, as into the great adjoining territory of the manifestations accompanying deprivation of the drug, which we cannot deal with here.

The appearance of the more primitive libido-organizations in the clinical picture of drug-taking has already been mentioned by several authors. Lately Schilder [11] in particular has emphasized this point. In this connection it remains to be said that the destruction of genital primacy may intensify certain pregenital erotisms to such an extent that on occasion—especially in a period of deprivation—manifest perversions occur. A large part is played here by homosexuality in particular, the relations of which to alcoholism were described long ago by Abraham, and to cocainism some time ago by Hartmann.[12]

[11] Schilder, *Entwurf zu einer Psychiatrie auf psychoanalytischer Grundlage,* Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925.

[12] Hartmann, ' Kokainismus und Homosexualitat." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Psychologie und Neurologie,* 1925.

In severe cases of addiction the disintegrating effect of meta-erotism on mental life is still more extensive. One gets the impression that through the neglect of their somatic sources even the specifically psychical excitations of the component-instincts gradually succumb ; indeed, that in general all the differentiated mental expressions of erotism, with their manifold and closely inter-related varieties of content, progressively decay. An irresistible process of mental atrophy seizes and annihilates everything which the psychogenesis of the individual has created : a mental state which can only be compared to certain final phases of schizophrenia. It would be entirely in accordance with what actually happens if one were to construct theoretically a final phase in which the libido lost all its genetically differentiated characteristics and forms of organization, appearing in mental life only as an *amorphous* erotic tension. The form of this mental life can then be expressed in a very simple formula : desire for intoxication—intoxication—after-effects of intoxication, etc. This hypostasis seems to me to throw much light on certain severe forms of addiction, for it is indisputable that if ' habituation ' does not cause incapacity for intoxication in time, they tend towards a final result of this nature. The whole mental personality then, if one only includes the drug as part of it, represents an auto-erotic pleasure-apparatus. The ego is completely subjugated and devastated by the libido of the id—one might almost say transformed back into the id ; the outer world is ignored, and the conscience is disintegrated. One gleans from this some idea of the enormous importance of the drug as the only interesting piece of reality and it becomes intelligible that sometimes from the very beginning of his affliction the patient disregards every consideration of justice and morality in his efforts to procure it.

The consideration of a factor we have hitherto neglected will add some further points to our survey. The progressive process of regression and decay which ensues in the libido on meta-erotism must according to Freud's view, which has been confirmed by all our experiences of the psychoneuroses, be accompanied by an extensive instinctual defusion and liberation of the destructive components. It is easy to show that the facts completely bear out this theoretical expectation. The above-mentioned destruction of the higher mental organizations and differentiations can only be the work of the destructive components liberated by the defusion, and it is still unknown what share this psychical factor has in the somatic degeneration of the drug-taker, which goes along with his mental decay. A second foot-

hold for the unchained destructive tendencies is offered by the institution of conscience within the super-ego whose aggressive impulses—in Freud's sense—work upon the ego as a ' conscience instinct '.[13] With many drug patients—we don't yet know which—one must actually assume a rapid heightening of the Ucs conscience-tension, which then amongst other things also experiences an intense need for punishment. This state of affairs results in a vicious circle which drives the addict ever deeper into the craving and provides a psychological foundation for the inevitable increase of the dose.

Now although the aggressive tendencies, especially with certain drugs, can be directed outwards in various way, without doubt their greatest significance lies in their ' turning upon the self '. A remarkable analogy : the addict is destroyed by the (psychical) disintegrating results of his meta-erotism, just as many lower animals are through their natural sexual functioning.

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We will now turn to what is perhaps the most important question that arises out of these considerations. What sort of person is it who passes beyond the boundary between ' help ' and ' pleasure ' when first taking drugs for medicinal purposes, or else who deliberately resorts to it straightaway with a view to pleasure ?[14] In other

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[13] It seems advantageous to describe the dynamic manifestations of the conscience institution as a ' conscience instinct.' According to Freud's views the conscience instinct represents phylogenetically the latest differentiation in human instinctual life, and it is determined chiefly by its topographical point of attack. This manner of speech allows us to employ both appropriately and usefully in the psychology of the ego expressions familiar to us from the theory of the instincts.

[14] The accompanying table should make clearer what I have said above.

The Psychical Effects of Intoxication

(A) *Help*

(*a*) Internal barrier against stimuli (analgesic, sedative, hypnotic, narcotic effects).
(*b*) Strengthening of the ego functions (stimulating effects).

} *Internal relief of the ego in the service of reality.*

(B) *Pleasure*

Pharmacotoxic orgasm (intoxicating effects) } *Subjugation of the ego by the id. Destruction of its relations to reality*

words, what sort of person is it who develops the desire for intoxication and then follows the path that leads to addiction to drugs ?

The most common factor met with in the ætiology of drug-taking is of course real frustation, accompanied by all the manifold phenomena familiar to us from the ætiology of the neuroses. One finds nothing which would not be met with as an ' actual conflict ' in the neuroses also, particularly since in addicts all the neuroses are found as an ætiological factor. The frustration is frequently followed first by a neurosis and only afterwards by the drug-habit, which complicates the situation by only one degree. Therefore the predisposing factors which determine the choice of a ' flight into drug-addiction ' must lie further back, and our whole endeavour to bring this sphere of phenomena within the premisses of Freud's libido-theory leads us to place them in the libidinal development of the individual. Thus our attention was directed to oral erotism whose ætiological significance for intoxication, already mentioned by Freud in the *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, has been confirmed by all later analytic experience. The surprising fact emerged that the psychical expressions of oral erotism are also strongly marked in all cases of addiction where the drug is not assimilated by the mouth at all. One got the impression that secret links exist between the oral zone and the bliss of intoxication, whose significance remains unaltered even when other erotogenic zones have taken the place of the oral zone for purposes of assimilating the drug, or when any connection with erotogenic zones is entirely dispensed with. In cases of the latter kind, where use is made of the Pravaz syringe, one perhaps sees this most clearly. It is as though intoxication had remained an oral phenomenon, although precisely this refined way of producing it has emancipated it from the oral zone. This view is certainly unsatisfactory and becomes still more so when one considers how little has been gained by it. Abraham's classic researches have shown us how varied are the effects and manifestations of oral erotism in our mental life, so that at first one really does not know what it is in oral erotism that disposes to intoxication, when the oral erotogenic zone is excluded from any part in producing the latter.

I confess that for years this problem had defeated me until some chance observations at last presented me with the solution. Curiously enough, they were not in the first place connected with drug-addicts at all. One day I got the idea that the somatic source of the excitations of oral erotism might not be confined to the mouth area. Plentiful and enjoyable assimilation of good food is followed by a phase

which physiologically can only correspond to the onset of digestion and absorption, and in which psychically the picture is dominated by the pleasant feeling of satiety and, over and above this, by a generally diffused feeling of sensual pleasure in which again the whole organism participates.[15] Many people possess the capacity for enjoying this phenomenon intensely, with many others it has been more or less lost. There is no doubt that in the adult this process represents the vestiges of a fundamental psycho-physiological function which one must describe as an ' alimentary orgasm '. It must be shown elsewhere by means of casuistic material what significance this orgastic mode of gratification can acquire in normal life and in certain neuroses ; such observations are easy to make if one's attention has already been directed to the phenomenon. We must hasten to consider this discovery theoretically.

It is only too clear that the oral organization of the suckling culminates in the alimentary orgasm. Since the somatic processes which lie at the base of this orgastic pleasure are hidden inside the body and so cannot be perceived by the infant, its interest is bound to be displaced on to the palpable oral zone, the excitation of which initiates the gratification-process as a forepleasure mechanism. One may assume that the infant who sucks for pleasure is really striving for a repetition of the orgastic gratification and contents itself with the enjoyment confined to the oral zone merely as a substitute. Owing to the dependence of the alimentary orgasm on nutrition a repetition of it is only possible at all within the limits allowed by the physical state of the digestion tracts at the moment. Thus an enhanced erotic value of the oral zone would derive from the alimentary orgasm. But in any case a lively anticipation remains deeply impressed on the Ucs that by stimulating the oral zone that particular secret and mysterious pleasure might be repeated. It may even have been this which led one of our orally inclined ancestors first to discover a plant with intoxicating properties.

The alimentary orgasm makes its appearance in mental life as a mature psycho-physiological mechanism, and with its ramifications influences psychosexual development to a considerable extent. With its cathexes it is concerned in a whole series of infantile ideas and

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[15] The digestive phase, as is well known, is distinguished by a series of physiological signs (rise of temperature, alteration of the state of the blood, etc.) which relate to the organism as a *whole*.

wishes familiar to us; thus, to name only the most important, it proves to be the real keystone of the combination: oral impregnation —abdominal pregnancy—anal birth. These connections can be proved with certainty during analysis and belong to the most important factual foundations of our point of view; it is only the inference about the suckling that is a speculative—even if forcibly obvious—addition. But we must wait till we have proceeded further before we can explain why the genital type of thoughts inherent in the 'infantile sexual theories' which are so significant for the symptomatology of the neuroses is in the first place anchored about the alimentary orgasm as its centre. I will only remark at this point that, given the constitutional factor in question, the sexual excitation produced by such phantasies—belonging to the Œdipus complex—may be discharged by means of the alimentary orgasm and *not* by onanism. Thus, when the mental defences against the now forbidden incestuous trends are set up, this process affects the executive function of the alimentary orgasm, and in *this* way gives rise to the psychical disturbances of nutrition (distaste for food, stomach and bowel neuroses, etc.) with which we are familiar.

It is in the alimentary orgasm, with its psychical superstructure just described, that we shall find the specific fixation-point which produces the disposition to drug-addiction. The pharmacotoxic orgasm proves to be a new edition of the alimentary, with which it has in common its extended course and much besides, but which otherwise in its pleasurable qualities it far outstrips.[16] Thus is solved at one stroke a whole series of questions which arise out of the study of drug-addiction. The pregenital erotisms prominent in the clinical pictures of the disease are the psychical guise of the alimentary orgasm of infancy. We are provided with an ingenious psychological motivation for the prevalence of homosexuality, without being driven to accept Schilder's hypothesis (*loc. cit.*) of the mutual affinity between particular drugs and erotisms. And then we at last understand from the psychological angle why most of these cravings are accompanied by considerable emaciation and neglect of nourishment, why, according to a statement of Lewin's (*loc. cit.*, p. 70), with the coca-chewer, for example, 'though insufficiently nourished the body does not ex-

[16] There is a long series of nutrients and pleasure-giving delicacies and substances, which form a continuous transition beginning with the ordinary substances of nourishment and ending with pure intoxicants, so that we have to take into account combinations of the two orgastic functions.

perience feelings of hunger for a considerable period '. The vast scale of the pharmacotoxic orgasm has swallowed up the rudiments of the alimentary orgasm which acts as a pleasure premium to ensure nutrition and digestion.

On the other hand, we cannot ascribe to the Ucs conscience-tension (sense of guilt) any specific part in the ætiology of drug-taking. Its importance in severe cases of addiction is much the same as in severe cases of neurosis. Its presence alone—however important this may be practically—cannot explain why a person should particularly succumb to a neurosis or fall a victim to the drug habit, or else become a criminal or an unusually beneficent philanthropist.

We cannot leave our theme without making a short comparative survey of what we have discovered about orgastic modes of gratification. In this connection the phylogenetic approach seems an enticing one. If one is not going to assume what seems hardly credible, that in the ascending scale of animal life the orgastic mode of gratification appeared on the scene as a novelty only with the development of the generative organ, then for purely evolutionary reasons one is driven to the view that the alimentary constitutes the original form of orgasm ; hence in primitive animate beings the highest pleasure function is combined with their most important self-preservative function.[17] Thus in the suckling period ontogenesis repeats the formation of that phase of development, only to leave it—and this again is surely only a repetition from phylogenesis (beasts of prey !)—for a time in a state of fierce rivalry with the maturing genital phase.[18] This must also be the explanation of the fact that in ontogenesis the complex of ' genital ' phantasies—and often, too, the discharge of the sexual excitation belonging to them—attaches in the first place to the

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[17] From biological considerations we must assume the existence of the alimentary orgasm in even the lowest of the protista, which assimilate nourishment with their entire undifferentiated cellular system. The conception of the orgasm as a ' fundamental erotic function ' and of the cell as an ' orgastic unity ' opens out an interesting biological perspective, which may illuminate the processes of cell-division and copulation from a new angle and make them accessible to experimental research.

[18] The oral zone seems to act as intermediary in the transition from the alimentary orgasm to genital erotism ; on the relations between the oral and genital phases see the works of Helene Deutsch, *Psychologie der weiblichen Sexualfunktionen ;* Bernfeld, *Psychologie des Saüglings ;* and Rank, *Zur Genese der Genitalität.*

alimentary orgasm. The physiologico-chemical processes of digestion and absorption must lie at the base of the alimentary orgasm. We assume in accordance with Freud's conception of sexual chemistry [19] that in these processes a conversion—perhaps also a formation—of sexual substances takes place. Thus the alimentary orgasm would be an (endo-)toxic phenomenon, closely bound up with the nutritional processes. If one follows Ferenczi's [20] views on this subject, according to which one must conceive of the evolution of the genital stage in the progressive differentiation process of phylogenesis as the establishment and isolation of an erotic centre, whose function it should be to release the processes of self-preservation from their erotic bondage, then one may add that from our point of view the genital has clearly won away the orgastic effect from the nutritional process. In spite of its subjection to the reproductive function, genitality certainly has a greater freedom in the handling of sexual substances than was the case with the nutritional act. How it has succeeded in converting the toxic sexual substances into the new *genital explosive* orgasm, one cannot in the meantime understand. But by discovering the pharmacotoxic orgasm man has played a trick on biology. He also has in this way imitated the nutritional function and has raised its sexual-toxic accompanying phenomena, set free from their unwieldy alimentary functioning, to the position of an independent orgastic mode of gratification. It may be that some day the pharmacogenic orgasm will succeed in imitating the genital.

It is common to all three forms of orgasm that by equalizing the erotic tensions they induce sleep ; in the alimentary orgasm the freed destructive tendencies (chiefly in the form of chemical aggression) are directed against the nourishment assimilated, in the genital and pharmacogenic orgasms—much less obviously in the former than the latter—actually against the body itself.

And now, to end with, I will say something about melancholia. It is to be expected from the great importance of the oral incorporative function in this illness that the alimentary orgasm will help to shed some new light on its pathology. We will confine ourselves here to some brief suggestions. The resemblance between mania and melancholia, on the one hand, and intoxication and its depressing after-

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[19] *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905.

[20] *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*. Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Bibliothek, No. XIV, 1924.

effects on the other, is well known. And I think that we can now point out the biological prototypes of both pairs of phenomena; i.e. the alimentary orgasm and a long-continued state of hunger which has already become paralysing. When the sufferer from hunger destroys his own body in order to meet his need for energy, his aggression in the long run is directed against former objects of the outer world which he had incorporated and built into his own being. Without overestimating the importance of such analogies, it is nevertheless surprising to observe how faithfully melancholia repeats these processes in the purely psychical sphere. And, further, one must not forget that rapid emaciation is one of the obvious clinical accompaniments of melancholia. But even the frequent complaint of melancholics that their bodies are disintegrating, that they have lost their stomach, their intestines, etc., betrays its deep biological meaning, a serious disturbance in the orgastic alimentary function. And finally we must note the relevancy of the fact that with our animal ancestors, and frequently even now with the suckling, an alimentary orgasm follows directly upon a torturing condition of hunger, just as mania follows on melancholia.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MONOGAMOUS IDEAL[1]

BY

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For some time past I have asked myself with growing astonishment why there has as yet been no thorough analytical exposition of the problems of marriage,[2] although assuredly every single analyst would have a great deal to say on the subject, and although both practical and theoretical considerations are necessitating some attack on these problems: practical considerations, because every day we are confronted with matrimonial conflicts; theoretical, because there is hardly another situation in life which is so intimately and so obviously related to the Œdipus situation as is marriage.

Perhaps (I said to myself) the whole question touches us too nearly to form an attractive object of scientific curiosity and ambition. But it is also possible that it is not the problems but the conflicts which touch us too closely, lie too close to some of the deepest roots of our most intimate personal experience. And there is another difficulty: marriage is a social institution, and our approach to its problems from the psychological standpoint is necessarily hampered; at the same time their practical importance obliges us at least to try to understand what is their psychological basis.

Though for the purposes of my present paper I have selected one particular problem, we must first of all try to form a conception (though but in broad outline) of the fundamental psychical situation implied by

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[1] Read at the Tenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Innsbruck, September 3, 1927.

[2] This does not imply that almost every aspect of these problems has not already been *touched on* in psycho-analytical literature. I have only to refer to Freud, ' " Civilized " Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness ' and ' Contributions to the Psychology of Love '; Ferenczi, ' Psycho-Analysis of Sexual Habits '; Reich, *Die Funktion des Orgasmus;* Schultz-Henke, *Einführung in die Psycho-analyse;* Flügel, *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family.* Again, in the *Ehebuch* (edited by Max Marcuse) we have papers by Róheim, ' Urformen und Wandlungen der Ehe '; Horney, ' Psychische Eignung und Nichteignung zur Ehe '; ' Über die psychischen Bedingungen zur Gattenwahl '; ' Über die psychischen Wurzeln einiger typischer Ehekonflikte '.

marriage. In his *Ehebuch* Keyserling has recently propounded a question which is as remarkable as it is obvious: what is it, he asks, which in spite of constant matrimonial unhappiness in all ages continues to impel human beings into marriage? In order to answer this question we, fortunately, are neither driven to fall back on the notion of a 'natural' desire for a husband and children, nor, as Keyserling does, on metaphysical explanations: we can assert with greater precision that what drives us into matrimony is clearly neither more nor less than the expectation that we shall find in it the fulfilment of all the old desires arising out of the Œdipus situation in childhood—the desire to be a wife to the father, to have him as one's exclusive possession and to bear him children. In passing I may say that, knowing this, we are likely to be extremely sceptical when we hear it prophesied that the institution of marriage will soon come to an end, though we admit that at any given period the structure of society will affect the form of these undying wishes.

Hence, the initial situation in marriage is fraught with a perilously heavy load of unconscious wishes. This is more or less inevitable, for we know that there is no cure for the persistent recurrence of these desires and that neither conscious insight into the difficulties nor our experience of them in the lives of others really can help much. Now there are two reasons why this freight of unconscious wishes is dangerous. From the side of the id the subject is threatened with disappointment not only because actually being oneself a father or mother does not in the least realize the picture left in our minds by our childish longings, but also because—as Freud says—the husband or the wife is always only a substitute. The bitterness of the disappointment depends on the one hand on the degree of fixation and, on the other, on the degree of discrepancy between the object found and gratification achieved and the specific unconscious sexual desires.

From the other side the super-ego is menaced by the resuscitation of the old incest-prohibition—this time in relation to the marriage-partner, and the more complete the fulfilment of unconscious wishes the greater is this danger. The revival of the incest-prohibition in marriage is apparently very typical and leads *mutatis mutandis* to the same results as in the relation between child and parent: that is, the direct sexual aims give place to an affectionate attitude in which the sexual aim is inhibited. I know personally of only one case in which this development has not supervened, the wife remaining permanently in love with her husband as a sexual object, and in this case the woman

had, at the age of twelve, enjoyed actual sexual gratification with her father.

Of course there is another reason why sexuality tends to develop on these lines in married life : the sexual tension is reduced as a result of the fulfilment of desire, and especially because it can always easily be gratified in relation to the one object. But the deeper motivation of this typical phenomenon, at any rate the rapidity of the process and particularly the degree to which it develops, are all traceable to some such repetition of the Œdipus development.[3] Apart from accidental factors, the manner and degree in which the influence of the early situation will shew itself will depend on the extent to which the incest-prohibition still makes itself felt as a living force in the mind of the individual concerned. The more profound effects, though their manifestations are so different in different persons, may be described by a common formula : they lead to certain limitations or conditions, given which the subject is still able to tolerate the marriage-relation, despite the incest-prohibition.

As we know, such limitations may make themselves felt already in the type of husband or wife chosen. It may be that the woman selected as wife must in no way recall the mother : in race or social origin, intellectual calibre or appearance she must present a certain contrast to the mother. This helps to explain why marriages prompted by prudence or contracted through the intervention of a third party tend to turn out relatively better than genuine love-matches. Though the similarity of the marriage-situation to the desires arising out of the Œdipus complex automatically produces a repetition of the subject's early attitude and development, nevertheless this is less if the uncon-

[3] In his paper ' On the most prevalent form of degradation in erotic life ' (*Collected Papers*, Vol. II, p. 214) Freud has attacked this problem in a similar form. He says there : ' But is it true that the mental value of an instinct invariably sinks with gratification of it ? ' And he reminds us of what happens with an habitual drinker and his wine : how the mere passage of time causes him to become more and more strongly attached to his particular kind of drink. Freud's answer to the whole question is the same as is given here in so far as he reminds us that in our erotic life the original object may be represented by an endless series of substitutes ' none of which is wholly satisfactory '. I would only add to this explanation that not only is a search for the ' true ' love-object continually being carried on, but there also has to be considered the recoil from the object of the moment due to the prohibition which so easily attaches itself to fulfilment of the wish.,

scious expectations have not all from the outset attached themselves to the future husband or wife. Moreover, when we take into account the unconscious tendency to protect marriages from the more violent forms of disaster, we can perceive that there was a certain psychological wisdom in the institution of an intermediary to arrange marriages, such as obtains among the Eastern Jews, who were on the one hand particularly prone to incestuous relations, and for whom, on the other, solidity in family relations was especially desirable on account of their isolation.

Within wedlock itself we see how such conditions as these may be created by all the psychic institutions in our minds. In regard to the id there are genital inhibitions of all sorts, ranging from a simple sexual reserve towards the partner, which rules out variations in fore-pleasure or coitus, to complete impotence or frigidity. Further, we see on the part of the ego attempts at reassurance or justification which may take very varied forms. One of these amounts to a kind of denial of the marriage, and frequently manifests itself in women as a merely external recognition of the fact of their being married without any inner appreciation of it, accompanied by an inner feeling of being constantly amazed at it, by a tendency to sign their maiden names, behave in a girlish fashion and so forth.

But, impelled by the inner necessity to justify marriage to the conscience, the ego often adopts the opposite attitude towards wedlock, laying upon it an exaggerated stress, or, more precisely, stressing in an exaggerated manner the love felt to husband or wife. One might coin the phrase 'justification by love', and see an analogy in the more lenient verdicts passed by the tribunal of the law on criminals actuated by love. In his paper on a case of female homosexuality, Freud says that there is nothing about which our consciousness can be so incomplete or false as about the degrees of affection or dislike which we feel for another human being. This is quite especially true of marriage, it being often the case that the degree of love felt is over-estimated. I have long asked myself how we are to explain this. That one is liable to an illusion of this sort where the relation is a fleeting one is really not very surprising, but one would suppose that in marriage not only the permanence of the relation but also the more frequent gratification of sexual desire would be calculated to do away with sexual over-estimation and the illusions bound up with it. The most obvious answer would be that people very naturally endeavour to account to themselves for the great demands on the psychic life involved in marriage by con-

ceiving that they are due to a strong emotion, and therefore to hold tenaciously to the idea of such an emotion, even after it has ceased to be a living force. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that this explanation is rather superficial; it probably springs from the need for synthesis with which we are familiar in the ego and to which we may well ascribe a falsification of the facts for the sake of demonstrating a single-minded attitude in a relation so important in life.

Once again, the relation to the Œdipus complex provides a very much deeper explanation. For we see that the commandment and the vow to love and cleave to husband or wife with which one enters into matrimony are regarded by the unconscious as a renewal of the fourth commandment. Hence, not to love the partner in marriage becomes as great a sin to the unconscious as the failure to fulfil that commandment in relation to the parents, and in this respect also—the suppression of hate and the exaggeration of love—the earlier experiences are compulsorily repeated with exactness in every detail. I now think that—at any rate in many cases—we do not correctly appreciate this phenomenon unless we assume that love itself may be one of the conditions which are necessary to lend to a relation prohibited by the super-ego the semblance of justification. Naturally, then, the retention of love or the illusion of it serves an important economic function, and that is why it is so obstinately striven after.

Finally, we shall not be surprised to find that suffering (as in a neurotic symptom) is one of the conditions under which marriage can hold its own against a very strong incest-prohibition. Affliction may take on in such manifold forms for this purpose that one cannot hope to do them justice in a short sketch. I will therefore only suggest a few of them. There are, for instance, conditions in the domestic or professional life of some people which are engineered by unconscious arrangement, so that the subject is overworked or has to make undue sacrifices ' for the sake of the family ', which he or she at any rate regards as a burden. Or again, it is a matter of frequent observation that after marriage people sacrifice a considerable part of their personal development, whether in the sphere of their professional life or in that of character or intellect. Finally, we must include the countless cases in which one partner becomes a slave to the demands of the other and endures this painful position willingly, probably through the conscious enjoyment of a strong sense of responsibility.

With regard to such marriages as these one often asks oneself in amazement what can be the reason that they are not dissolved but are

often, on the contrary, so stable ; but reflection shows, as I have indicated, that it is just the fulfilment of the condition of affliction which guarantees the permanence of such unions.

Having arrived at this point, we shall realize that there is by no means a clear dividing line between these cases and those others in which marriage is purchased at the price of a neurosis. Into the latter, however, I do not wish to enter, because in this paper I wish principally to discuss only those situations which may be described as normal.

It seems almost superfluous to mention that in this survey I am doing a certain violence to the real facts, not only because every one of the conditions I have described may be otherwise determined but also because, in order to present them clearly, I have taken each one separately, whereas in reality they are generally intermingled. To give you an instance : we can perceive something of all these conditions, particularly in highly estimable women in whom a fundamentally *maternal* attitude is by no means uncommon—an attitude which alone seems to make marriage possible for them. It is as though they said : In my relations with my husband I must not play the part of the wife and mistress, but only that of the mother, with all that this implies of loving care and responsibility. Such an attitude is in one way a good safeguard for a marriage, but it is based on a limitation of love, and the inner life of husband and wife may be rendered arid by it.

Whatever in the individual case may be the outcome of this dilemma between too much and too little fulfilment, in all the cases where it is especially acute these two factors, disillusionment and the incest-prohibition, with all their consequences of secret hostility to husband or wife, will alienate the other partner and drive him or her involuntarily to seek for new love-objects. This is the basic situation which gives rise to the *problem* of monogamy.

There are other channels open to the libido thus liberated : sublimation, repression, the regressive cathexis of former objects and the outlet through children, but with these we will not concern ourselves to-day.

The possibility that other human beings may become the objects of our love is, we must admit, always there. For the impressions of our childhood and their secondary elaborations are so multifarious that normally they do in fact admit of the choice of widely differing objects.

Now this impulse to seek after fresh objects may (again, in quite normal people) acquire a great impetus from unconscious sources. For,

although marriage does represent a fulfilment of infantile desires, these can be fulfilled only in so far as the subject's development enables him or her to effect a real identification with the rôle of father or mother. Whenever the outcome of the Œdipus complex departs from this fictive norm, we find the same phenomenon : the person in question is clinging in some fundamental points to the rôle of child in the triad of mother, father and child. When this is the case the desires arising out of this instinctual attitude cannot be directly gratified through marriage.

These conditions of love carried over from childhood are familiar to us from Freud's works. I need therefore only recall them to your memory in order to show how the inner meaning of marriage prevents their fulfilment. For the child the love-object is indissolubly connected with the idea of something forbidden ; yet love for husband or wife is not merely permitted : there looms beyond this the portentous idea of conjugal duty. Rivalry (the condition of there being an injured third party concerned) is excluded by the very nature of monogamous marriage ; indeed, monopoly is a privilege accorded by law. Again (and here we are genetically on a different level, for the above conditions have their origin in the Œdipus situation itself, whereas those I am about to mention may be traced to fixation to special situations in which the Œdipus conflict has terminated) there may be a compulsion repeatedly to demonstrate potency or erotic attraction, because of genital uncertainty and a corresponding weakness in the structure of the narcissism. Or, where there is an unconscious tendency to homosexuality, there is the compulsion to seek for an object of the same sex as the subject. From the standpoint of the woman this may be achieved by a circuitous route : either the husband may be driven into relations with other women, or the wife herself may seek for relations in which another woman plays a part. Above all—and from the practical point of view, this is probably the most important thing—where a dissociation in the love-life persists, the subject will be compelled to centre tender feelings on objects other than those of sensual desires.

We can easily see that the retention of any of these infantile conditions is unfavourable to the principle of monogamy : rather, it must inevitably drive the husband or wife to seek other love-objects.

These polygamous desires, then, come into conflict with the partner's demand for a monogamous relation and with the ideal of faithfulness which we have set up for ourselves in our own minds.

Let us begin by considering the first of these two claims, for obviously

a claim for someone else to make a renunciation is a more primitive phenomenon than imposing a renunciation upon ourselves. The origin of this claim, broadly speaking, is clear; plainly it is a revival of the infantile wish to monopolize the father or mother. Now this claim to monopolize is (as we should expect, seeing that its source lies within every one of us) by no means peculiar to married life; on the contrary, it is of the essence of every full love-relation. Of course, in wedlock as well as in other relations, it may be a claim made purely out of love, but in its origin it is so indissolubly connected with destructive tendencies and hostility to the object that often nothing is left of the love which makes the claim but a screen behind which these hostile tendencies fulfil themselves.

In analysis this desire for monopoly reveals itself first of all as a derivative of the oral phase, when it takes the form of the desire to incorporate the object in order to have sole possession of it. Often, even to ordinary observation, it betrays its origin in the greed of possession which not only grudges the partner any other erotic experience, but is also jealous of his or her friends, work or interests. These manifestations confirm the expectation derived from our theoretical knowledge, namely, that in this possessiveness, as in every orally-conditioned attitude, there is an admixture of ambivalence. Sometimes we have the impression that men have not only actually succeeded in enforcing the naïve and complete demand for monogamous fidelity upon their wives more energetically than women have upon their husbands, but that the instinct to claim monopoly is stronger in men, and there are important conscious reasons for this, e.g. men wish to make sure of their fatherhood—but it may well be that precisely the oral origin of the demand gives it a stronger impetus in the male, for when his mother suckled him he experienced at any rate a partial incorporation of the love-object, whereas the girl cannot go back to any corresponding experience in her relation to her father.

Further destructive elements are closely welded with this desire in another connection. In earlier days the claim to monopolize the love of father or mother met with frustration and disappointment, and the result was a reaction of hate and jealousy. Hence, there lurks always behind this demand a certain hatred, which can generally be detected by the manner in which the claim is enforced and which often breaks out if the old disappointment is repeated.

Now the early frustration wounded not only our object-love but also our self-regard in its tenderest spot, and we know that here

particularly every human being carries a narcissistic scar. For this reason it is largely our self-feeling which later demands a monogamous relation and demands it with an imperiousness proportionate to the sensitiveness of the scar left by the early disappointment. In patriarchal society, where the claim to exclusive possession is made above all by the man, this narcissistic factor is plainly manifested in the ridicule attaching to the 'cuckold'. Here, again, the claim is not made out of love: it is a question of prestige. In a society dominated by males it is especially bound to become more and more a matter of prestige, for as a rule men think more of their status with their fellows than of love.

Finally, the demand for monogamy is closely bound up with anal-sadistic instinctual elements, and it is these which, together with the narcissistic elements, impart its peculiar character to that claim as made in married life. For, in contrast to free love-relations, in marriage questions of possession are in a twofold manner intimately connected with its historical significance. The fact that marriage as such represents an economic partnership is of less importance than the view according to which woman was regarded as a chattel of man. Hence, without any special individual stressing of anal characteristics these elements come into force in wedlock and convert the claim of love into an anal-sadistic demand for possession. Elements of this origin are to be seen in their crudest form in the old penal judgements on unfaithful wives, but in marriage to-day they still often betray themselves in the means employed to enforce the claim: a more or less affectionate compulsion and an ever wakeful suspicion, both calculated to torment the partner—both familiar to us from analyses of the obsessional neurosis.

Thus the sources from which the ideal of monogamy derives its strength seem to be sufficiently primitive. In spite of this so-to-speak humble origin it has grown to be an imperious ideal, and here it shares, as we know, the evolution of other ideals in which elementary instinctual impulses rejected by consciousness find their fulfilment. In this instance what contributes to the process is the fact that the fulfilment of certain of our most powerful repressed wishes represents at the same time a valuable achievement in various social and cultural respects. As Radó has shewn in his paper entitled 'An anxious mother',[4] this ideal-formation enables the ego to restrain its critical function, which

[4] International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Vol. IX, 1928.

would otherwise teach it that this claim to permanent monopoly, while as a *wish* it is understandable, is as a *demand* not only difficult to enforce but also unjustifiable ; and further, that it represents the fulfilment of narcissistic and sadistic impulses far more than it indicates the wishes of genuine love. As Radó puts it, the formation of this ideal provides the ego with a ' narcissistic insurance ', under cover of which it is free to give play to all these instincts which otherwise it would condemn, and at the same time is raised in its own estimation through the sense that the claim it advances is right and ideal.

Of course, the fact that these demands are sanctioned by law is of enormous importance. In proposals for reform which spring from the realization of the dangers to which marriage is exposed because of just this compulsion special exception is commonly taken to this latter point. Nevertheless, this legal sanction is probably simply the outward and visible expression of the value which this demand has in the minds of human beings. And when we realize upon what a deeply-rooted instinctual basis the claim to monopoly takes its stand we shall probably not err in assuming that, if the present ideal justification for it were taken from humanity, we should at all costs in some way or other find a fresh one. Moreover, so long as society attaches importance to monogamy, it has from the point of view of psychic economics an interest in permitting the gratification of those elementary instincts which underlie the demand, in order to compensate for the restriction of instinct which it imposes.

The demand for monogamy, while it has this general basis, may in individual cases be reinforced from various quarters. Sometimes one of its constituent elements may play an overwhelmingly great part in the instinctual economy, or all those factors may contribute which we recognize as motive forces in jealousy in general. In fact we might describe the demand for monogamy as an insurance against the torments of jealousy.

Just like jealousy, it may on the other hand be repressed through the weight of feelings of guilt which whisper that we have no right to the exclusive possession of the father. Or again, it may be submerged under other instinctual aims, as in the well-known manifestations of latent homosexuality.

Further, as I said, polygamous desires come into collision with our own ideal of faithfulness. Unlike the claim to monogamy in others, our own attitude towards fidelity has no direct prototype in our infantile experience. Its content represents a restriction of instinct ;

hence it is obviously nothing elementary, but is, even in its earliest beginnings, an instinctual transformation.

As a rule we have more opportunity with women than with men of studying this demand for monogamy, and we ask ourselves why this should be so. The question for us is not whether (as is so frequently asserted) men have naturally a more polygamous disposition ; for one thing, we know so little with certainty on questions of natural disposition. But, apart from that, the assertion thus made is so transparently simply a tendentious confabulation in favour of the man. I think, however, that we are justified in asking what can be the psychological factors which make faithfulness in actual life so much rarer in men than in women.

This question admits of more than one answer, for it cannot be separated from historical and social factors. For instance, we may consider how far woman's greater faithfulness might be secondarily conditioned by the fact that men have enforced their demand for monogamy more effectively in every way. Here I am thinking not only of the economic dependence of women, nor of the draconic punishments decreed for feminine unfaithfulness ; there are other, more complicated, factors in the question, which Freud has made plain in ' The Taboo of Virginity ', mainly, the demand made by men that a woman shall enter matrimony as a virgin, in order to ensure some measure of ' sexual thraldom ' in her.

From the analytical standpoint two questions suggest themselves in connection with this problem. The first is this : seeing that the possibility of conception makes coitus physiologically a more momentous matter for women than for men, is it not to be expected that this fact will have some psychological representation ? Personally, I should be surprised if it were not so. We know so little on this subject that, so far, we have never been able to isolate a special reproductive instinct, but have always only succeeded in seeing it beneath its psychical superstructure. We know that the dissociation between ' spiritual ' and sensual love, which has so strong a bearing on the possibility of faithfulness, is predominantly—indeed, almost specifically—a masculine characteristic. Might it not be that here we have that for which we are looking : the psychic correlative to the biological differences between the sexes ?

The second question arises out of the following reflection. The difference in the outcome of the Œdipus complex in men and in women might be formulated thus : the boy makes a more radical renunciation

of the primal love-object for the sake of his genital pride, whereas the girl remains more strongly fixated to the person of the father, but can obviously do so only on condition that she abandons to a greater extent her sexual rôle. The question, then, would be whether we have not evidence in later life of this difference between the sexes in the woman's fundamentally greater genital inhibition and whether it is not precisely this which makes faithfulness easier for her, just as it is far more common to meet with frigidity than with impotence, both of which are manifestations of genital inhibition.

Thus we have arrived at one of the factors which we should be inclined to regard quite generally as an essential condition of faithfulness, namely, genital inhibition. Nevertheless, we have only to look at the tendency to unfaithfulness which is characteristic of frigid women or men of feeble potency to realize that, while it is perhaps not incorrect thus to formulate the condition of faithfulness, yet a more precise statement is certainly necessary.

We advance a little further when we observe that people whose faithfulness is of an obsessional character often conceal a sense of sexual guilt behind conventional prohibitions.[5] All that is forbidden by convention—and this includes all sexual relations unsanctioned by marriage—becomes loaded with the whole burden of unconscious prohibitions, and this is what gives such convention its great moral weight. As we should expect, this difficulty is met with in the same people as can only feel free to marry under certain conditions.

Now these feelings of guilt are experienced especially in relation to the husband or wife. The partner not only assumes for the unconscious the rôle of the parent whom the child coveted and loved but, further, the old dread of prohibitions and punishments may revive and be referred to him or her. In particular the old feelings of guilt on account of onanism now become reactivated and so, under pressure of the fourth commandment, create the same guilt-laden atmosphere of an exaggerated sense of duty, or else a reaction of irritability. Or, in other cases, the atmosphere is one of insincerity, or else there is an anxiety-reaction of dread of concealing anything at all from the partner. I am inclined to suppose that unfaithfulness and onanism are more directly connected than simply by way of the sense of guilt. It is true that originally in onanism the sexual wishes relating to the

[5] This connection is very clearly shown by Sigrid Undset in *Kristin Lavranstochter*.

parents found physical expression. But, as a rule, in the masturbation-phantasies the parents are replaced by other objects at a very early age: hence these phantasies represent, as well as the primal wishes, the child's first unfaithfulness to the parents. The same applies to early erotic experiences with brothers and sisters, playfellows, servants, and so on. Just as onanism represents the first unfaithfulness in the sphere of phantasy, it is represented in that of reality by these experiences. And in analysis we find that people who have retained a specially lively sense of guilt on account of these early incidents, whether phantasies or real, for that very reason shun with peculiar anxiety any unfaithfulness in wedlock, for this would signify a repetition of the old guilt.

Frequently it is this remnant of the old fixation which repeats itself in persons whose faithfulness is, as it were, obsessional, in spite of their vehement polygamous desires.

But faithfulness may also have a quite different psychological basis, which may either coexist in the same people with that which we have just been discussing or be entirely independent. The people in question, for one or other of the reasons I have mentioned, are especially sensitive about their claim to exclusive possession of the partner and also, in reaction, they make the same demand upon themselves. Consciously, it may seem to them only just that they should themselves fulfil the claims which they make upon others, but in such cases the deeper reason lies in phantasies of omnipotence, according to which one's own renunciation of other relations is like a magic gesture compelling the partner likewise to renounce.

We have now seen what are the motives at the back of the demand for monogamy and what are the forces with which it comes into conflict. To use a simile from physical life, we might call these opposing impulses the centrifugal and the centripetal forces in matrimony, and we should have to say that here we have a trial of strength in which the opponents are equally matched. For both derive their motive power from the most elementary and direct desires arising from the Œdipus complex. It is inevitable that both sets of impulses should be mobilized in married life, though with every possible variation in the degree of their activity. This helps us to understand why it never has been and never will be possible to find any principle which will solve these conflicts of married life. Even in individual cases, although we can see tolerably clearly what are the motives at work, it is only when we look back in the light of analytical experience that we can

perceive what are the results which have actually ensued from behaviour of one sort or another.

In short, we observe that the elements of hate can find an outlet not only when the principle of monogamy is violated but when it is observed, and may vent themselves in very different ways; that the feelings of hate are directed against the partner in one form or another, and that on both sides they are at work to undermine the foundation upon which married life should be built up: the tender attachment between husband and wife. We must leave it to the moralist to decide what is then the right course.

Nevertheless the insight thus gained does not leave us entirely helpless in the face of such matrimonial conflicts. The discovery of the unconscious sources which feed them may so weaken not only the ideal of monogamy but also the polygamous tendencies, that it may become possible for the conflicts to be fought out. And the knowledge we have acquired helps us in yet another way: when we see the conflicts in the married life of two people we often involuntarily tend to think that the only solution is that they should separate. The deeper our understanding of the inevitability of these and other conflicts in every marriage, the more profound will be our conviction that our attitude towards such unchecked personal impressions must be one of complete reserve and the greater will be our ability to control them in reality.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ŒDIPUS COMPLEX IN WOMEN

BY

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One of the earliest discoveries of psycho-analysis was the existence of the Œdipus complex. Freud found the libidinal relations to the parents to be the centre and the acme of the development of childish sexuality and soon recognized in them the nucleus of the neuroses. Many years of psycho-analytical work greatly enriched his knowledge of the developmental processes in this period of childhood; it gradually became clear to him that in both sexes there is both a positive and a negative Œdipus complex and that at this time the libido finds physical outlet in the practice of onanism. Hence the Œdipus complex makes its appearance only when the phallic phase of libido-development is reached and, when the tide of infantile sexuality recedes, that complex must pass in order to make way for the period of latency during which the instinctual tendencies are inhibited in their aim. Nevertheless, in spite of the many observations and studies by Freud and other authors, it has been remarkable how many obscure problems have remained for many years unsolved.[1]

It seemed that one very important factor was the connection between the Œdipus and the castration complexes, and there were many points about this which were obscure. Again, understanding of the processes in male children has been carried much further than with the analogous processes in females. Freud ascribed the difficulties in elucidating the early infantile love-relations to the difficulty of getting at the material relating to them: he thought that this was due to the profound repression to which these impulses are subjected. The greater difficulty of understanding these particular mental pro-

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[1] Abraham, 'Manifestations of the Female Castration Complex', 1920, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. III, 1922. Alexander, 'The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character,' ibid., Vol. IV, 1923. Helene Deutsch: *Psychoanalyse der weiblichen Sexualfunktionen.* Neue Arbeiten zur ärztlichen Psychoanalyse, No. V. Horney, 'On the Genesis of the Castration Complex in Women', ibid., Vol. V, 1924; 'The Flight from Womanhood', ibid., Vol. VII, 1926. Van Ophuijsen, 'Contributions to the Masculinity Complex in Women' (1917), ibid., Vol. V, 1924.

cesses in little girls may arise on the one hand from the fact that they are in themselves more complicated than the analogous processes in boys and, on the other, from the greater intensity with which the libido is repressed in women. Horney thinks that another reason is that, so far, analytical observations have been made principally by men.

In 1924 and 1925 Freud published two works which threw much light on the origin of the Œdipus complex and its connection with the castration complex. The first of these: The Passing of the the Œdipus Complex '[2], shows what happens to that complex in little boys. It is true that several years previously in the 'History of an Infantile Neurosis' [2] and again, in 1923, in the paper entitled 'A Neurosis of Demoniacal Possession in the Seventeenth Century',[2] its fate in certain individual cases had been described. But in 'The Passing of the Œdipus Complex' we have the general application and the theoretical appreciation of this discovery and also the further conclusions to be deduced from it. The result arrived at in this paper is as follows: the Œdipus complex in male children receives its death-blow from the castration complex, that is to say, that both in the positive and the negative Œdipus attitude the boy has to fear castration by his father, whose strength is superior to his own. In the first case castration is the punishment for the inadmissible incest-wish and, in the second, it is the necessary condition of the boy's adopting the feminine rôle in relation to his father. Thus, in order to escape castration and to retain his genital he must renounce his love-relations with both parents. We see the peculiarly important part which this organ plays in boys and the enormous psychic significance it acquires in their mental life. Further, analytic experience has shown how extraordinarily difficult it is for a child to give up the possession of the mother, who has been his love-object since he was capable of object-love at all. This reflection leads us to wonder whether the victory of the castration complex over the Œdipus complex, together with the narcissistic interest in the highly-prized bodily organ, may not be due also to yet another factor, namely, the tenacity of this first love-relation. Possibly, too, the following train of thought may have some significance: If the boy gives up his ownership of the penis, it means that the possession of the mother (or mother-substitute) becomes for ever impossible to him. If, however, forced by the superior power of that far stronger rival, his father, he renounces the

[2] *Collected Papers.*

fulfilment of his desire, the way remains open to him at some later period to fight his father with greater success and to return to his first love-object, or, more correctly, to her substitute. It seems not impossible that this knowledge of a future chance of fulfilling his wish (a knowledge probably phylogenetically acquired and, of course, unconscious) may be a contributing motive in the boy's temporary renunciation of the prohibited love-craving. This would also explain why before, or just at the beginning of, the latency-period a little boy longs so intensely to be ' big ' and ' grown-up '.

In this work, then, Freud largely explains the connections between the Œdipus and the castration-complex in little boys, but he does not tell us much that is new about the same processes in little girls. Hence his paper, published in 1925, ' Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes ',[3] throws all the more light on the fate of the early infantile love-impulses of the little girl. Freud holds that in girls the Œdipus complex (he is speaking of the attitude which for the girl is positive : love for the father and rivalry with the mother) is a secondary formation, first introduced by the castration-complex ; that is to say, that it arises after the little girl has become aware of the difference between the sexes and has accepted the fact of her own castration. This theory throws a new light on many hitherto obscure problems. By this assumption Freud explains many later developmental characteristics, various differences in the further vicissitudes of the Œdipus complex in girls and in boys, and in the super-ego formation in the two sexes, and so forth.

Nevertheless, even after this connection has been discovered, there are several problems which remain unsolved. Freud mentions that, when the castration-complex has become operative in the girl, that is, when she has accepted her lack of the penis and therewith become a victim of penis-envy, ' a loosening of the tender relation with the mother as love-object ' begins to take place. He thinks that one possible reason for this may be the fact that the girl ultimately holds her mother responsible for her own lack of the penis and, further, quotes a historical factor in the case, namely, that often jealousy is conceived later on against a second child who is more beloved by the mother. But, Freud says, ' we do not very clearly understand the connection '. According to him another remarkable effect of penis-envy is the girl's struggle against onanism, which is more intense than

[3] This JOURNAL, Vol. VIII, 1927.

that of the boy and which, in general, still makes itself felt at a later age. Freud's view is that the reason why the little girl revolts so strongly against phallic onanism is the blow dealt to her narcissism in connection with her penis-envy: she suspects that in this matter it is no use to compete with the boy and therefore it is best not to enter into rivalry with him. This statement gives rise to the involuntary thought: How should the little girl who never possessed a penis and therefore never knew its value from her own experience, regard it as so precious?

Why has the discovery of this lack in herself such far-reaching mental consequences and, above all, why should it begin to produce a mental effect at a certain moment, when it is probable that the bodily difference between herself and little boys has already been perceived countless times without any reaction? Probably the little girl produces pleasurable physical sensations in the clitoris in the same way and presumably with the same degree of intensity as the boy does in the penis, and perhaps she feels them in the vagina too. About this latter fact we received a communication by Josine Müller in the German Psycho-Analytical Society, and I have been told of it by an acquaintance, the mother of two little girls. Why, then, should there be this mental reaction in the girl to the discovery that her own member is smaller than the boy's or is lacking altogether? I should like to try whether the following considerations, which have been suggested to me by experiences in my analytic practice (to be narrated hereafter), may bring us a little nearer to answering these questions.

I think that several points will be clearer to us if we consider the previous history of the castration-complex or penis-envy in little girls. But, before doing so, it will be advisable to examine once more the analogous process in boys. As soon as the little boy is capable of an object-relation he takes as his first love-object the mother who feeds and tends him. As he passes through the pregenital phases of libidinal development he retains always the same object. When he reaches the phallic stage he adopts the typical Œdipus attitude, i.e. he loves his mother and desires to possess her and to get rid of his rival, the father. Throughout this development the love-object remains the same. An alteration in his love-attitude, an alteration characteristic of his sex, occurs at the moment when he accepts the possibility of castration as a punishment threatened by his powerful father for these libidinal desires of his. It is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the boy, even before he reaches the phallic stage and adopts the Œdipus

attitude which coincides with it, has perceived the difference between the sexes by observing either a sister or a girl play-fellow. But we assume that this perception has no further significance to him. If, however, such a perception occurs when he is already in the Œdipus situation and has recognized the possibility of castration as a punishment with which he is threatened, we know how great its significance may be in his mind. The child's first reaction is an endeavour to deny the actuality of castration and to hold very tenaciously to his first love-object. After violent inward struggles, however, the little fellow makes a virtue of necessity ; he renounces his love-object in order to retain his penis. Possibly he thus ensures for himself the chance of a renewed and more successful battle with his father at some later date—a possibility which I suggested earlier in this paper. For we know that, when the young man reaches maturity, he succeeds in wresting the victory from his father, normally in relation to a mother-substitute.

Now what happens in the little girl ? She, too, takes as her first object-love the mother who feeds and tends her. She, too, retains the same object as she passes through the pregenital phases of libidinal evolution. She, too, enters upon the phallic stage of libido-development. Moreover, the little girl has a bodily organ analogous to the little boy's penis, namely, the clitoris, which gives her pleasurable feelings in masturbation. Physically she behaves exactly like the little boy. We may suppose that in the psychic realm also children of either sex develop up to this point in an entirely similar manner ; that is to say, that girls as well as boys, when they reach the phallic stage enter into the Œdipus situation, i.e. that which for the girl is negative. She wants to conquer the mother for herself and to get rid of the father. Up to this point, too, a chance observation of the difference between the sexes may have been without significance ; now, however, a perception of this sort is fraught with serious consequences for the little girl. It strikes her that the boy's genital is larger, stronger and more visible than her own and that he can use it actively in urinating, a process which for the child has a sexual significance. When she makes this comparison, the little girl must feel her own organ to be inferior. She imagines that hers was once like the boy's and that it has been taken from her as a punishment for her prohibited love-cravings in relation to the mother. At first the little girl tries, as does the boy, to deny the fact of castration or to comfort herself with the idea that she will still grow a genital. The acceptance

of castration has for her the same consequences as for the boy. Not only does her narcissism suffer a blow on account of her physical inferiority, but she is forced to renounce the fulfilment of her first love-longings. Now at this point the difference in the psychic development of the two sexes sets in, in connection, that is, with the perception of the anatomical difference between male and female. To the boy castration was only a threat, which can be escaped by a suitable modification of behaviour. To the girl it is an accomplished fact, which is irrevocable, but the recognition of which compels her finally to renounce her first love-object and to taste to the full the bitterness of its loss. Normally, the female child is bound at some time to come to this recognition : she is forced thereby completely to abandon her negative Œdipus attitude, and with it the onanism which is its accompaniment. The object-libidinal relation to the mother is transformed into an identification with her ; the father is chosen as a love-object, the enemy becomes the beloved. Now, too, there arises the desire for the child in the place of the wish for the penis. A child of her own acquires for the girl a similar narcissistic value to that which the penis possesses for the boy ; for only a woman, and never a man, can have children.

The little girl, then, has now adopted the positive Œdipus attitude with the very far-reaching after-results of which we are so familiar. Freud has explained more than once that there is no motive for the shattering of the positive Œdipus complex in the female such as we have in the threat of castration in the case of the boy. Hence, the female Œdipus complex vanishes only gradually, is largely incorporated in the normal development of the woman, and explains many of the differences between the mental life of women and of men.

We may now sum up by saying that the little girl's castration complex (or her discovery of the anatomical difference between the sexes) which, according to Freud, ushers in and renders possible her normal, positive Œdipus attitude, has its psychic correlative just as that of the boy, and it is only this correlative which lends it its enormous significance for the mental evolution of the female child. In the first years of her development as an individual (leaving out of account the phylogenetic influences which, of course, are undeniable) she behaves exactly like a boy not only in the matter of onanism but in other respects in her mental life : in her love-aim and object-choice she is actually a little man. When she has discovered and fully accepted the fact that castration has taken place, the little girl is forced once and for all to renounce her mother as love-object and therewith

to give up the active, conquering tendency of her love-aim as well as the practice of clitoral onanism. Perhaps here, too, we have the explanation of a fact with which we have long been familiar, namely, that the woman who is wholly feminine does not know object-love in the true sense of the word: she can only 'let herself be loved'. Thus it is to the mental accompaniments of phallic onanism that we must ascribe the fact that the little girl normally represses this practice much more energetically and has to make a far more intense struggle against it than the boy. For she has to forget with it the first love-disappointment, the pain of the first loss of a love-object.

We know how often this repression of the little girl's negative Œdipus attitude is wholly or partly unsuccessful. For the female as well as for the male child it is very hard to give up the first love-object: in many cases the little girl clings to it for an abnormally long time. She tries to deny the punishment (castration) which would inevitably convince her of the forbidden nature of her desires. She firmly refuses to give up her masculine position. If later her love-longing is disappointed a second time, this time in relation to the father who does not give way to her passive wooing of his love, she often tries to return to her former situation and to resume a masculine attitude. In extreme cases this leads to the manifest homosexuality of which Freud gives so excellent and clear an account in 'A Case of Female Homosexuality'.[4] The patient about whom Freud tells us in this work made a faint effort on entering puberty to adopt a feminine love attitude but, later in the period of puberty, she behaved towards an elder woman whom she loved exactly like a young man in love. At the same time she was a pronounced feminist, denying the difference between man and woman; thus she had gone right back to the first, negative phase of the Œdipus complex.

There is another process which is perhaps commoner. The girl does not entirely deny the fact of castration, but she seeks for over-compensation for her bodily inferiority on some plane other than the sexual (in her work, her profession). But in so doing she represses sexual desire altogether, that is, remains sexually unmoved. It is as if she wished to say: 'I may not and cannot love my mother, and so I must give up any further attempt to love at all'. Her belief in her possession of the penis has then been shifted to the intellectual sphere; there the woman can be masculine and compete with the man.

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[4] *Collected Papers.*

We may observe as a third possible outcome that a woman may form relationships with a man, and yet remain nevertheless inwardly attached to the first object of her love, her mother. She is obliged to be frigid in coitus because she does not really desire the father or his substitute, but the mother. Now these considerations place in a somewhat different light the phantasies of prostitution so common amongst women. According to this view they would be an act of revenge, not so much against the father as against the mother. The fact that prostitutes are so often manifest or disguised homosexuals might be explained in analogous fashion as follows: the prostitute turns to the man out of revenge against the mother, but her attitude is not that of passive feminine surrender but of masculine activity; she captures the man on the street, castrates him by taking his money and thus makes herself the masculine and him the feminine partner in the sexual act.

I think that in considering these disturbances in the woman's development to complete femininity we must keep two possibilities in view. Either the little girl has never been able wholly to give up her longing to possess her mother and thus has formed only a weak attachment to her father, or she has made an energetic attempt to substitute her father for her mother as love-object but, after suffering a fresh disappointment at his hands, has returned to her first position.

In the paper ' Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes ', Freud draws attention to the fact that jealousy plays a far greater part in the mental life of women than in that of men. He thinks that the reason for this is that in the former jealousy is reinforced by deflected penis-envy. Perhaps one might add that a woman's jealousy is stronger than a man's because she can never succeed in securing her first love-object, while the man, when he grows up, has the possibility of doing so.

In another paragraph Freud traces the phantasy ' A child is being beaten ' ultimately to the masturbation of the little girl when in the phallic phase. The child which is beaten or caressed is at bottom the clitoris (i.e. the penis); the being beaten is on one hand the punishment for the forbidden genital relation and on the other a regressive substitute for it. But in this phase the punishment for prohibited libidinal relations is precisely castration. Thus the formula ' A child is being beaten ' means ' a child is being castrated '. In the phantasies in which the child beaten is a stranger the idea of its being castrated is intelligible at the first glance. It means: ' No one else shall what

I have not got'. Now we know that in the phantasies of puberty, which are often greatly metamorphosed and condensed, the child beaten by the father always represents as well the girl herself. Thus she is constantly subjecting herself to castration, for this is the necessary condition of being loved by the father; she is making a fresh effort to get clear of her old love-relations and reconcile herself to her womanhood. In spite of the many punishments, pains and tortures which the hero has to undergo, the phantasies always end happily'[5] i.e. the sacrifice having been made the passive, feminine love is victorious. Sometimes this immolation permits the return to masturbation, the first forbidden love-tendency having been duly expiated. Often, however, onanism remains none the less prohibited, or it becomes unconscious and is practised in some disguised form, sometimes accompanied by a deep sense of guilt. It seems as though the repeated submission to the punishment of castration signifies not only the expiation due to the feelings of guilt but also a form of wooing the father, whereby the subject experiences also masochistic pleasure.

To sum up what I have said above: In little boys who develop normally the positive Œdipus attitude is by far the more prevalent, for by adopting it the child through his temporary renunciation of the mother-object can retain his genital and perhaps ensure for himself thereby the possibility of winning later in life a mother-substitute; if he adopted the negative attitude, it would mean that he must renounce both from the outset. Little girls, however, normally pass through both situations in the Œdipus complex: first the negative, which occurs under precisely the same conditions as in boys, but which they are compelled finally to abandon when they discover and accept the fact of their castration. Now, the girl's attitude changes; she identifies herself with the lost love-object and puts in its place her former rival, the father, thus passing into the positive Œdipus situation. Thus, in female children the castration-complex deals a death-blow to the negative Œdipus attitude and ushers in the positive Œdipus complex.

This view confirms Freud's hypothesis that the (positive) Œdipus complex in women is made possible and ushered in by the castration-complex. But, in contradistinction to Freud, we are assuming that the castration-complex in female children is a secondary formation

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[5] Cf. Anna Freud: *Schlagephantasie und Tagtraum, Imago*, VIII, 1922.

and that its precursor is the negative Œdipus situation. Further, that it is only from the latter that the castration-complex derives its great psychic significance, and it is probably this negative attitude which enables us to explain in greater detail many peculiarities subsequently met with in the mental life of women.

I am afraid it will be objected that all this looks like speculation and is lacking in any empirical basis. I must reply that this objection may be just as regards part of what I have said, but that nevertheless the whole argument is built up on a foundation of practical experience, although unfortunately this is still but meagre. I shall now give a short account of the material which has led me to my conclusions.

Some time ago I was treating a young girl who had been handed over to me by a male colleague. He had analysed her for some years already, but there were certain difficulties connected with the transference which resisted solution. This girl had suffered from a somewhat severe hysterical neurosis. Her analysis had already been carried a good way. The normal, positive Œdipus complex, her rivalry with her sister and her envy of her younger brother's penis had been dealt with thoroughly, and the patient had understood and accepted them. Many of her symptoms had disappeared, but nevertheless she remained to her great regret unfit for work. When she came to me, the unresolved, ambivalent transference to the male analyst was playing a principal part in the situation. It was difficult to determine which was the stronger : her passionate love or her no less passionate hate. I knew this patient personally before she came to me for treatment, and the analysis began with a strong positive transference to me. Her attitude was rather that of a child who goes to its mother for protection. But after a short time a profound change began to take place. The patient's behaviour became first rebellious and hostile and soon, behind this attitude, there was revealed a very deep-seated and wholly active tendency to woo my love. She behaved just like a young man in love, displaying, for instance, a violent jealousy of a young man whom she suspected of being her rival in real life. One day she came to analysis with the idea that she would like to read all Freud's writings and become an analyst herself. The obvious interpretation which we tried first, namely, that she wanted to identify herself with me, proved inadequate. A series of dreams showed an unmistakable desire to get rid of my own analyst, to ' castrate ' him and take his place, so as to be able to analyse (possess) me. In this

connection the patient remembered various situations in her childhood when her parents quarrelled and she assumed a defensive and protective attitude towards her mother, and also times when they displayed mutual affection and she detested her father and wished to have her mother to herself. The analysis had long ago revealed a strong positive attachment to the father and also the experience which put an end to this. As a child the patient slept in a room next to her parents' and was in the habit of calling them at night when she had to urinate; of course, the intention was to disturb them. At first she generally demanded that her mother should come but, later on, her father.

She said that, when she was five years old, this once happened again and her father came to her and quite unexpectedly boxed her ears. From that moment the child resolved to hate him. The patient produced yet another recollection: when she was four years old she dreamt that she was lying in bed with her mother beside her and that she had a sense of supreme bliss. In her dream her mother said: 'That is right, that is how it ought to be'. The patient awoke and found that she had passed urine in bed; she was greatly disappointed and felt very unhappy.

She had various recollections of the time when she still slept in her parents' room. She said she used often to awake in the night and sit up in bed. These recollections are a fairly certain indication that she observed her parents' coitus. The dream she had as a child may very well have been dreamt after such an observation. It clearly represents coitus with her mother, accompanied by a sense of bliss. Even in later life urethral erotism played a particularly important part in this patient. Her disappointment on awaking showed that she was already conscious of her inability to possess her mother: she had long ago discovered the male genital in her younger brother. The bed-wetting can be construed either as a substitute for or a continuation of masturbation; the dream shows how intense must have been her emotional relation to her mother at that time. Hence it is clear that the patient, after the disappointment with her father (the box on the ears) tried to return to the earlier object, whom she had loved at the time of the dream, i.e. to her mother. When she grew up she made a similar attempt. After an unsuccessful love-affair with a younger brother of her father's she had for a short time a homosexual relation. This situation was repeated in her analysis when she came from the male analyst to me.

This patient stated that she had had a special form of the beating

phantasy when she was from eight to ten years old. She described it as ' the hospital phantasy '. The gist of it was as follows : A large number of patients went to a hospital to get well. But they had to endure the most frightful pains and tortures. One of the most frequent practices was that they were flayed alive. The patient had a feeling of shuddering pleasure when she imagined their painful, bleeding wounds. Her associations brought recollections of how her younger brother sometimes pushed back the foreskin of his penis, whereupon she saw something red, which she thought of as a wound. The method of cure in her phantasy was therefore obviously a representation of castration. She identified herself on one occasion with the patients, who at the end always got well and left the hospital with great gratitude. But generally she had a different rôle. She was the protecting, compassionate Christ, who flew over the beds in the ward, in order to bring relief and comfort to the sick people. In this phantasy, which reveals its sexual-symbolic character in the detail of *flying*, the patient is the man who alone possesses his mother (for Christ was born without father), but who finally, in order to atone for the guilt and to be able to reach God the Father, offered the sacrifice of crucifixion (castration). After we broke off the analysis, which the patient gave up in a state of negative transference, a reaction to the disappointment of her love, she tried to translate this phantasy into reality by deciding to become a nurse. After a year, however, she abandoned this new profession for her earlier one, which was more masculine in character and much more suited to her temperament. Gradually, too, her feelings of hate towards me disappeared.

I had a second patient in whom I discovered similar processes with regard to the transference. In the first two months of treatment this patient produced very strong resistances. She acted the part of a naughty, defiant child and would utter nothing but monotonous complaints to the effect that she was forsaken and that her husband treated her badly. After we had succeeded in discovering that her resistance arose from feelings of hate towards me, due to envy and jealousy, the full, positive, feminine Œdipus attitude gradually developed in her—there entered into it both love for the father and the wish for a child. Soon, too, penis-envy began to show itself. She produced a recollection from her fifth or sixth year. She said that she had once put on her elder brother's clothes and displayed herself proudly to all and sundry. Besides this she had made repeated efforts to urinate like a boy. At a later period she always felt that she

was very stupid and inferior and thought that the other members of her family treated her as if this were the case. During puberty she conceived a remarkably strong aversion from every sort of sexual interest. She would listen to none of the mysterious conversations in which her girl-friends joined. She was interested only in intellectual subjects, literature, etc. When she married she was frigid. During her analysis she experienced a desire to have some profession ; this stood to her for being male. But her feelings of inferiority forbade any real attempt to compass this ambition. Up to this point the analysis had made splendid progress. The patient had one peculiarity : she remembered very little, but she enacted all the more in her behaviour. Envy and jealousy and the desire to do away with the mother were repeated in the most diverse guises in the transference. After this position had been worked through, a new resistance presented itself ; we discovered behind it deep homosexual desires having reference to myself. The patient now began to woo my love in a thoroughly masculine manner. The times of these declarations of love, during which in her dreams and phantasies she always pictured herself with a male genital, invariably coincided with some active behaviour in real life. They alternated, however, with periods in which her behaviour was wholly passive. At such times the patient was once more incapable of anything ; she failed in everything, suffered from her inferiority and was tortured with feelings of guilt. The meaning of this was that every time she conquered the mother, she was impelled to castrate herself in order to get free from her sense of guilt. Her attitude to masturbation also was noteworthy. Before analysis she had never consciously practised this habit ; during the period when she was being treated she began clitoral masturbation. At first this onanism was accompanied by a strong sense of guilt ; later, at times when her love-wishes in relation to her father were most vehemently manifested, the feelings of guilt abated. They were succeeded by the fear that the onanism might do her some physical harm : ' weaken her genitals '. At the stage when she was in love with me the sense of guilt reappeared and she gave up masturbating, because this fear became in her mind a certainty. Now this ' weakening ' of the genital organs signified castration. Thus the patient constantly oscillated between a heterosexual and homosexual love. She had a tendency to regress to her first love-relation—with the mother—and at this stage tried to deny the fact of castration. To make up, however, she had to refrain from onanism and sexual gratification of any kind. She

could not derive satisfaction from her husband, because she herself really wanted to be a man in order to be able to possess the mother.

Thus, in both the cases which I have quoted it was plain that behind the woman's positive Œdipus attitude there lay a negative attitude, with the mother as love-object, which revealed itself later in the analysis and therefore had been experienced at an earlier stage of development. Whether this evolution is typical cannot, of course, be asserted with any certainty from the observation of two cases. I should be inclined to believe that in other female patients the Œdipus complex has had a similar previous history, but I have not been able to gather enough material from their analyses to establish this beyond question. The phase of the negative Œdipus attitude, lying, as it does, so far back in the patient's mental history, cannot be reached until the analysis has made very considerable progress. Perhaps with a male analyst it may be very hard to bring this period to light at all. For it is difficult for a female patient to enter into rivalry with the father-analyst, so that possibly treatment under these conditions cannot get beyond the analysis of the positive Œdipus attitude. The homosexual tendency, which can hardly be missed in any analyses, may then merely give the impression of a later reaction to the disappointment experienced at the father's hands. In our cases, however, it was clearly a regression to an earlier phase—one which may help us to understand better the enormous psychic significance that the lack of a penis has in the erotic life of women. I do not know whether in the future it will turn out that my exposition in this paper explains only the development of these two patients of mine. I think it not impossible that it may be found to have a more general significance. Only the gathering of further material will enable us to decide this question.

SOME INFANTILE SEXUAL THEORIES NOT HITHERTO DESCRIBED

BY

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In his paper on 'infantile sexual theories'[1] Freud speaks of the difference between the theories formed at the stage of puberty and those of early childhood: The former are more rationalized, and are subjected to secondary elaboration. The latter have been long repressed by the time puberty has been reached; they are much more grotesque than the conceptions of a later period, and, as Freud says, always contain a fragment of truth in accordance with infantile pre-genital sensations. Since actual bodily sensation points to a connection between the problems of child-getting and sex-differentiation and impulses to cruelty and excretory functions, curiosity is bound to proceed along the same path. As is well known, the attempts that are made to give early and natural 'explanations'—as Freud advises,[2] and so to avoid the hurtful results of premature sexual enquiries, which are doomed to frustration, often miscarry. There are children who will not accept any explanation, and either refuse to listen when one is given or quickly forget it again; they prefer their own theories to the truth. Reflection suggests that the child with its pre-genital orientation is unable as yet to grasp genital reality. But that would not explain the affective refusal to listen. There must therefore already exist a repression, the ideational content of which approximates to the truth more closely than the theory the child clings to. Analysis teaches us that this points to a hostile attitude to the parents, which signifies: 'You have up till now not told me the truth, and now I won't listen to you', or, 'If you do not give me complete sexual satisfaction, I do not want want the surrogate of an "explanation"'. (Patients who complain that their parents kept back sexual enlightenment from them mean, in their unconscious, the refusal of sexual satisfaction.) But we learn further that various unconscious motives can lead to the rejection of sexual truth. Alongside the apprehension

[1] Freud, 'On the Sexual Theories of Children', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

[2] Freud, 'The Sexual Enlightenment of Children', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

due to the possible birth of further brothers and sisters there is undoubtedly another motive standing well in the foreground, namely, when the castration-anxiety is so great that it clings convulsively to the belief in the female penis, then the truth must not be listened to, because it entails a recognition of the vagina, i.e. of the lack of a penis, and therefore a recognition of the reality of castration. We know that most boys cannot bring themselves to believe in the lack of a penis until they have had to convince themselves with their own eyes.

If the rejection of enlightenment is the result of castration-anxiety, we know at once what are the phantasies that ' approximate to the truth more closely ', that are more deeply repressed than the pregenital theories, though these certainly spring from a still earlier time, They are, namely, the ' castration theories ' that regard castration as a phenomenon inevitably accompanying the sexual act. Their usual forms, as is well known, are the following : (1) The man in the act cuts off the woman's penis. (2) (In order to repress this theory) the woman has a penis which she retains all her life, only it is hidden. (3) (As a return of the repressed from repression) the woman in the act cuts off the man's penis with hers. (The common anxiety that castration will follow sexual relations as a punishment cannot be described as a sexual theory.) When a boy as the result of castration-anxiety occasionally regresses completely from the phallic stage to the anal-sadistic, or when, indeed, he finally renounces even his Œdipus-wishes in order not to jeopardize his penis, he still clings at the same time to the older anal-sadistic theories in order to disown the more deeply repressed castration-theories, which never were conscious, or were only so for a short time, accompanied by intense discharge of anxiety. Very infrequent are cases like that of a patient who consciously imagined at the age of ten that the penis crumbled to pieces during the sexual act and that fragments of it remained in the vagina ; such cases are possible only when there is a strong feminine impress. It is otherwise in the case of girls ; the castration-theories bring them the hope of regaining their lost penis (aim of partial incorporation).

Accordingly, in the case of castration-theories analysis will pay special attention to the discovery, through removing repressions, of fresh variants of infantile sexual theories. As may easily be conceived, there is a type of case which is inexhaustible in its production of theories and phantasies with reference to castration—male obsessional neurotics, who at the sight of the female genitalia have regressed under castration-anxiety from an already strongly-marked phallic position

to the anal-sadistic level, who have become addicted to brooding, and who have taken traits of their higher stage back to that of the anal. All the three phantasies which we now give were produced by patients of this type: the first two from one who, e.g. manifested the typical defæcation abnormality of only being able to produce excrement in small pieces, as the result of his displacing the castration-anxiety to the anal zone; in the main they represent attempts to explain the fact of the lack of a penis by making castration innocuous. Naturally they come to grief and are unable permanently to prevent the formation of anxiety.

One of the theories arose as a reaction to the sight of the father's penis combined with an already existing belief in castration. It had therefore the task of uniting the supposed fact of the patient's castration, and the inferiority of his own penis, with the hope of having at some later time just as large a penis himself. It ran as follows: *The small penis can in some mysterious fashion be unscrewed and be replaced by a larger one.* There exists accordingly the stage of lack of a penis as intermediate between the small and the large penis. Although his penis is small just now, he is able with the aid of this mechanism to be on equal terms with both his parents in succession, without at the same time forfeiting his own penis. A brief comment on this will suffice. The phantasy is strongly over-determined; not only does the identification with both parents find expression, but also direct object-love in relation to both as well as hatred of both, i.e. an active castration tendency towards both. It all seems so well fitted to give satisfaction that one is astonished that this phantasy does not occur more frequently in a similar constellation. A conjecture, which unfortunately was not verbally expressed in the analysis, would lead us to seek the real foundation for this phantasy in the experiences of the suckling when alternating between sucking the maternal breast (large penis) and his own finger (small penis). Large penis = breast; small penis = thumb.

The second phantasy comes from the same patient, and reflects the regression to the anal level from the phallus that is threatened with castration. It appeared manifestly in a dream occurring in a series of 'corroborating dreams' that signified the acceptance of analytical results hitherto treated with suspicion, and reproduced in the manifest content theories formerly hypothetically inferred, e.g. women appeared with different kinds of penes. The dream ran as follows: *There exists a connection between my bowel and my childish penis. The gases*

from the bowel, instead of being voided in the air through the anus, flow into the penis so that it becomes erected. There is no reason for doubting that this dream manifestly restores a sexual theory in which the patient at one time believed. The erection results from the intestinal gases, hence his inferior penis can become as large as his father's if only he can make wind as much as his father. We see here the 'narcissistic over-estimation of the excretory functions'[3] serving that narcissistic pride in the penis which is intended to over-compensate for the castration-anxiety.

The third phantasy reveals another characteristic, and does not seem to be so very infrequent. It combines castration-anxiety with the phantasy of the mother's womb—that inhibited expression of bi-sexual incestuous wishes—with anxiety regarding the birth of other brothers and sisters, and with reminiscences of the primal scene. It was revealed in two cases and runs: *A girl makes her appearance; what had happened was that a boy had returned into the mother's womb, been rammed in, so to speak, and pressed back into the mother. There he is so treated by his father that he loses his penis. Then he is born again as a girl.*

The most important part of the material which made discovery of this phantasy possible will now be briefly related. Both patients were bi-sexual obsessional neurotics, who had regressed through castration-anxiety, and who had had the real foundation of primal scenes for their two-sided identification with both parents. Both analyses were marked by 'castration-anxiety' and the 'phantasy of the mother's womb'. One of the patients suffered from a dread of bridges and heights; the deeps into which he was afraid he would fall corresponded to the mother's womb, and the dread to castration-anxiety accompanying his incestuous wishes, the 'hidden masochistic significance' of the dread of heights[4] to the hidden homosexual significance of the phantasy of the mother's womb.[5] The other patient produced similar phantasies of watery and fiery depths. Both had anxiety of the mother's womb in the most varied forms. As children they both had the dread of falling into the water-closet; both

[3] Karl Abraham, 'The Narcissistic Evaluation of Excretory Processes in Dreams and Neurosis', *Selected Papers*, International Psycho-Analytical Library, No. 13 (Hogarth Press).

[4] Freud, *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst.*

[5] Freud, 'From the History of an Infantile Neurosis', *Collected Papers*, Vol. III.

suffered from death or burial-anxiety, in which they regarded death as a ' return to the mother '. One of them had lost his mother at the age of puberty and was afraid of her revenge. The dead, in hell, in their coffins, in fire or in water, tormented and tortured, tormenting and torturing, were constantly returning in dreams and phantasies. The man in the moon who had lived on earth, but had in punishment been transported to the moon, there to expiate his sins, was as much the subject of brooding speculation for one patient as hell—the anxiety-charged symbol of the mother's womb—was for the other.

Additional material left no doubt that a threat of castration lay within the mother's womb. The patient with the dread of heights was once as a punishment for ' naughtiness ' held out of the window in fun with the threat that he would be thrown down. In the case of the other the pains of hell left nothing to be desired in the way of castration-symbolism. When the former patient was made to persevere in the attempt to tolerate situations of anxiety, it appeared quite clearly that these were in reality pleasure-states that had been eagerly desired. In them the patient, yielding to a sudden impulse, drew up his knees in the position of the fœtal body ; in them, too, he believed that men had deprived him of his right to instinctual satisfaction. The phantasy of the mother's womb was a condensation of all the Œdipus-wishes, and the repetition of the primal scene.

Further material shewed the identity of the ' intra-uterine castration ' with a mysterious ' intra-uterine transformation ' (of sex). In the case of one patient an important part was played by the symbolism of mills ! His anxiety concerned the invisible change of corn into flour. Max and Moritz were ground to pieces in a mill ; in ' Old Wives' Mills ' old women were changed into young. The idea that he might be transformed into a beast, or waken out of sleep in altered form, was the subject of his childish anxieties. Once when he had a mask put on him as a child he reacted with an attack of anxiety. The idea that he would be changed into a girl was occasionally held consciously. He was continually imagining subterranean catastrophes with ever fresh variations.

Common to both cases was the fact—in correspondence with the regression—that the mother's womb was thought of as the inner bowel and the children in it as pieces of fæces. In the case of one patient a train of thought led from mills to smearing with excrement, by the verbal bridge : *mahlen—malen* (grind—paint). In the unconscious

were combined the ideas of a ' devil's mill ' in a fairy-tale with the saying, ' Don't paint the devil on the wall ', the devil as an inhabitant of hell smeared with excrement, and the idea of transformation (' devil's work ') with an inhibition in drawing. Both patients showed predominant anal traits in their character and in their sexual behaviour.

The two cases seemed to differ in one point—and it was precisely here that the analysis proved complete agreement. In the one case it was easy to see that the anxiety, accompanying all the infantile symptoms, lest another sister should be born originated in the painful experience of the birth of a sister two-and-a-half years younger. The birth of a cousin, which took place in his sixth year, gave him the opportunity of repeating his former psychical attitude. This revealed a twofold reaction. There was first the typical death-wish against his little rival, that she would return to the place from which she came (fall from a window or into a chest). The mother's womb anxiety (dread of falling from a window = falling from a height) showed itself in this fashion as a retributory anxiety on account of these wicked desires. ' What you wished for your sister will happen to yourself. You will be thrust back into the mother and there suffer torment ; your sister will remain behind '. In the second place, however, there is the increase of castration-anxiety caused by his sister's want of a penis, and linked inseparably with his ideas of ' intra-uterine torment ' (perhaps the second circumstance was first occasioned by the arrival of his cousin in his sixth year, since in the meantime, in connection with bed-wetting, he had had an opportunity of hearing threats of castration). The second patient had no younger brothers or sisters ; in his case the facts seemed more complicated, and identification with an *elder* sister appeared to be the impelling motive. But ultimately the analysis of anxiety-dreams was successful in eliciting the forgotten birth of a girl in their circle of near acquaintances ; this had been connected with the phantasy of the ' sacrificed boy ', and from it there resulted the condensation of the elements of anxiety—the fear of being castrated and of getting a sister (characteristically he never was afraid of a brother).

It is evident that this phantasy is more condensed, more primitive and less disguised than the other two. That is not difficult to explain. The first two phantasies were formed at a later period, when the denial of the lack of a penis by means of anal sexual theories could no longer be made, i.e. they are relatively superficial and hasty,

and have the tendency to discount the importance of the more deeply repressed castration-theories proper; while the third theory is itself such a profoundly repressed phantasy—a direct product of castration-anxiety, with which the Œdipus impulses were combined in the phallic stage. It was not necessary to assume that that anxiety expressed any supposititious pre-Œdipal birth-anxiety.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

AN EXAMINATION DREAM

One of my patients had fairly regularly, at intervals of two or three months, a dream about his matriculation examination. In the dream he was always doing a paper in Latin or mathematics. Invariably the dreamer lived through the last few minutes before the time was up. He had not yet begun to translate or to work out the problems, and the examiner announced that there would be five minutes more. His comrades held out their papers for him to copy and tried to prompt him, but he was incapable of even guiding his pen; the figures or letters became a blur, and he experienced the whole torment of the situation of not being able to perform or complete a task—only to awake with a sense of great relief and satisfaction at the thought that his school-days were long since over. So far, these dreams are typical and do not require any special mention; but the subject's previous history is worth noting from a theoretical point of view. In the *Traumdeutung* we read that a colleague had remarked to Freud that, so far as he knew, the matriculation dream only occurred in people who had passed the examination, and never in those who had failed in it.

Now the dreams in question are peculiar owing to the fact that the dreamer had never taken the matriculation examination.

Let me first give some analytical data in connection with the dream. The fact that the examination was always in mathematics or Latin is easily explained. The patient's father was a professor of mathematics; the Latin Professor at the time when the patient was a schoolboy was clearly a father-substitute.[1] The father and the Professor had certain qualities in common: both were one-sided and immersed in their own narrow scientific work, both were unsociable and delighted in books and astronomy, and both smoked pipes. The boy, who was otherwise very alert and of good intelligence, could make no progress in Latin, thus giving vent to his negative feelings towards his father. It was in accordance with the somewhat protracted duration of puberty that he retained his dislike of Latin right up to the highest form in school. The Latin Professor liked him. Every badly performed task was regarded by him as a personal slight from the patient, and thus he

[1] When he dreamt of an examination in mathematics the patient never saw the examiner, but if it was a Latin paper the examiner was always there.

added to the negative transference. He saw to it that, in spite of the boy's defective knowledge, he was moved up every year to a higher form. With horror the patient saw his matriculation examination becoming more and more imminent. When he thought of this public examination, in which the gaps in his knowledge would inevitably be revealed, he was seized with violent anxiety. He was anticipating punishment for the many occasions on which he had neglected his tasks: that is to say, for the unconscious hate towards his father which had caused this neglect. The examination was anticipated as a punishment, so to speak, for his guilt in relation to his father.

Then came the War and with it the 'War-matriculation' [i.e. reaching the status of manhood without the test of a school-examination], and the boy eluded the anticipated punishment. Shortly afterwards the examination-dream occurred for the first time, and from then on it recurred regularly. The patient could not recollect that there was any connection between the dream and some responsible task which he was required to perform on the following day.

The analytical material associated with this dream shews that, although it was about an examination, it has not the characteristics which Freud ascribes to examination-dreams in general but must be placed in another category, amongst those which he calls 'punishment-dreams'. According to him 'punishment-dreams' fulfil the wishes of the critical institution in the ego (ego-ideal, censorship, conscience). The fact that in the dreams under consideration the father appeared as the examiner would accord with this view.[2] Only it is rather remarkable that this punishment-dream took the form of an examination-dream and had in it much of the mechanism which Freud discovered in the latter type of dream.

Thus we have here a mixture of two types: the examination and the punishment-dream. This is the explanation of the remarkable fact that anyone who had never stood for this examination should nevertheless dream of it in this typical way.

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A PHOBIA IN A CHILD OF EIGHTEEN MONTHS

Freud's recently published work, *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, reminds us afresh of the great importance of anxiety in the psychology of neurosis, and brings the problem of anxiety into the forefront of our interest. That should justify the publication of the following slight

[2] Cf. Reik, *Geständniszwang und Strafbedürfnis*, p. 65.

contribution, which deals with the first symptoms of a phobia-formation in a little girl of eighteen months.

Little Lina is perfectly normally developed in mind and body, speaks fairly intelligibly, and even commands a vocabulary which at her age is rather larger than is usual.

The child shewed signs of anxiety for the first time when one day, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, she hid herself in the corner of a large sofa in her room, crying to her mother and saying to her in a low depressed voice: 'Mamma, don't give Linchen away; don't give Linchen away!' She repeated this many times in succession, clinging to her mother and clearly shewing all the while signs of uneasiness and anxiety. For a considerable time neither coaxing nor soothing was of any avail; then she finally fell asleep.

After that the attacks of anxiety recurred several days in succession, nearly always about the same time. Then they came not only in the evening but in the day-time, when the child frequently reiterated with signs of great anxiety: 'Don't give Linchen away; don't give Linchen away!' Her anxiety increased whenever anyone knocked at the door. She then wanted to be taken at once on her mother's or her nurse's lap, crying: 'Nobody there! nobody there!' At the same time she was afraid of the dark window in the evening, the church bells, or the noise of passing motors. With few exceptions she did not shew any fear of strangers.

It might perhaps be said, in general, that there was scarcely anything very unusual to be noticed in a little child's behaving in this way, that many children, perhaps the overwhelming majority, shew similar phenomena of anxiety at this age, or even later. But nevertheless we are dealing in these phenomena with the symptoms of anxiety, or, to speak more exactly, with incipient phobias.

It was relatively not difficult to get on the track of these phobic symptoms. The little child was very fond of listening to fairy-tales. There were two that were her special favourites. Every morning when she rose, she got her father to repeat these stories, times without number. One of them was about a child called Lipchen (her own name was Linchen). Lipchen's grandmother sent her to her grandfather in the fields, and he sold the child to a merchant. Lipchen, however, succeeded in running away from the merchant, and came home again to her grandmother. The second story told of a grandfather who said to the grandmother: 'Buy me a pot'. The grandmother bought the pot and brought it home. Then Linchen comes and hits the pot and

smashes it. The grandmother weeps; the grandfather weeps: 'Where is Linchen? I will beat her'. And Linchen is not there! (At this point the child always covered her eyes with her hands.) Then suddenly: 'There is Linchen, there she is!' Here she would burst into loud merry laughter.

After the appearance of the anxiety-symptoms she no longer wanted to have the stories told; she evidently avoided them and did not wish to hear anything about them. It was also evident that the sentence repeated with such dread: 'Don't give Linchen away!' comes from the first story, and that this anxiety is connected with a feeling of guilt that is related to the second story (the smashing of the pot and the threat of punishment).

Observation of the child's play brought confirmation of this. She had as a plaything a velvet bear of which she was very fond. During the period of anxiety her play consisted in abusing the bear, punishing and beating it because it was so naughty and dirty: 'Mischenka (the bear's name) a . . . a . . . a . . . nasty, Mischenka lep . . . lep (in her child's language = beat)'. She repeated this game many times in succession.

With reference to cleanliness I learnt the following facts: The child's training in cleanliness had been going on for some time and had at first met with no special obstacles. She became angry and began to cry only when she was put on the chamber-pot at night, usually heavy with sleep, for the purpose of urinating. At the same time the little girl had for a good while shewn a special interest in this function and, e.g., asked her mother and the nursemaid repeatedly whether grown-ups also had to attend to their needs. When the nursemaid went out of the room she used to say frequently: 'Nana gone to do a . . . a . . .'.

She often wanted to be put on the chamber-pot without needing to do anything—plainly from anxiety, or in order to obviate an accident. On the other hand, she often made motions, or assumed an attitude, as if she were making an effort to retain her urine. In doing so she would ask repeatedly: 'Linchen good? Linchen not to be given away?'.

At the same time the child produced a kind of cleanliness-obsession. She tidied the room, cleaned the floor, etc., in play. If, e.g., she noticed on the floor of her room a piece of paper, a small rag, a crumb, or a thread, she had to pick it up immediately, and throw it into the waste-paper basket, and so on.

I learned further from her father of a slight incident that took place shortly before the outbreak of the attacks of anxiety. I give the father's narrative verbatim: 'We had adopted the bad custom of carrying the child in our arms up and down the room for hours in order to put her to sleep. This was done not only in the evening, but also at night when the child was wakeful from any cause. The result was that I had several times to walk up and down the room with her the whole night through. My patience finally gave out, and on one occasion during such a nocturnal walk I laid her in her cot and cried to her: "Be quiet and go to sleep, I won't carry you in my arms any longer." She began to scream; but I lay down and took no notice. She stood up in her cot, however, and stretching her little hands out to me, she cried beseechingly: "Papa, papa!". She leaned so far out of the cot that she threatened to fall out. I had to go to her and take her in my arms to quieten her. She sobbed and trembled all over, and asked as soon as she was able to speak: "Is Linchen good, nice?"

I will give further a few of the father's notes which seem to me to contribute to the understanding of the case: 'This morning I took Linchen out of her cot—she was wet. She looked at me as if questioningly and said embarrassed: "Linchen good?"

'During the day Linchen was wet again, and the nursemaid had to undress her. The child said repeatedly as the nurse did so: "Linchen good, Linchen good; not give Linchen away." Another time on a similar occasion I heard the nurse say to her: "Linchen is not good, not nice; Linchen wets." The child then became uneasy, and would not allow the nursemaid to undress her. (The nurse was afterwards given instructions by the father on this point.)

'On hearing the noise of a passing motor-car, she ran to her mother and said: "Mamma, take Linchen; hold her!" She then stayed on her mother's knee, clung to her neck, and asked uneasily: "Linchen, our Linchen, not given away? . . ."

'To-day the child was restless and troubled the whole evening, wiped her nose carefully with her handkerchief and several times even her tongue! (transference from below upwards).

'To-day she took her favourite, the bear, and said: "Mischenka not good: Mischenka given away to the master" '.

It was clear to me that the infantile neurosis was to be regarded as the result of a somewhat too intense training in cleanliness, to which the child's powers were not yet equal. The conflict between the inner incentive to comply with the demand to master her excremental func-

tions and the primary component-instinct was so clear that I endeavoured to make it the basis of my therapeutic measures. I had all the commands with reference to the child's cleanliness given up. The father explained to her that it was by no means so terribly disgusting and naughty of her if she ever became wet, that all the same she was good and nice even if a misfortune occurred, because she was still small, etc. All reference to this was then avoided, and the child's uncleanliness overlooked. The result was rapid and striking. After a few days the child became quiet and free from anxiety.

A few days after the father's explanation the child wakened up wet after her midday sleep. Her mother noticed this, but acted as if she had seen nothing. But the child said : ' Linchen not good : Linchen wet '. ' No ', the mother replied, ' Linchen is good and nice. Linchen is still little '. On which the child answered : ' Linchen did not wet; papa wetted '—thus putting the blame on her father, who had given her permission, and shielding herself behind his authority.

It has further to be mentioned that all the difficulties were connected only with the control of urinating, and not with the function of the bowels ; and undoubtedly a constitutional factor was co-operating here.

This first life-tragedy of an eighteen-months-old child is so simple, clear and transparent that there is not much to be said about it. Still the following points may be empharised :

(1) The onset of the anxiety is in this case not contemporaneous with the prohibited act, but with the moment of its discovery by the parents or their representative, Nana. It is clearly dread of punishment or of loss of love on the part of the prohibiting, and at the same time beloved, person. It is this danger that causes the development of anxiety.

(2) The early appearance of so powerful a feeling of guilt is worthy of note.

(3) Just as surprising, in my opinion, is so early an appearance of reaction-formations of an obsessional character, which found expression in her incipient obsessional cleanliness and love of order.

(4) The play with the bear is also interesting. We can see clearly here the economic significance of play as the means of mastering too powerful stimuli, which Freud has described in his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. The child punishes the bear in her play for transgressions that she herself has committed. The process can perhaps be regarded

as a kind of projection of one's own need of punishment on to an external object.

A more exact analysis might perhaps discover still further interesting material in the case, but in the circumstances it was not possible for me to penetrate more deeply.

M. W. Wulff, Moscow.

THE CASTRATION COMPLEX IN THE NURSERY

I was consulted by two very much worried parents in regard to their little girl, aged five, who had been extremely wilful, resentful, and subject to violent outbursts of temper, for about three years. At the kindergarten to which she had been sent, at the age of four, it was found that she presented so many difficulties in her adaptation to the other children that the instructresses, who were women of considerable psycho-analytic insight, thought it wisest for the sake of both the child and the other pupils that she be removed from the school.

At the time when she was first brought to my attention she had developed, in addition to her anti-social conduct, a marked reaction of terror to noises and the habit of sniffling and handling her nose.

The parents, both very understanding people, related in the course of the history the following circumstances: The little girl is the first-born and about a year older than her brother. From the age of two she began to shew resentment at the presence of the new-comer in the family, and perhaps, at the age of two and a half, a marked preference for her father. At the age of three and a half her mother one day found her attempting to urinate in the standing posture over the chamber. When she remonstrated with the child the little girl would not be consoled but repeated over and over again that she wanted a little thing like her brother, and she would have one. The mother's assurance that she herself also lacked a penis and all other women did, made not the slightest impression on the child, who persisted in stamping her feet and crying out that she didn't care. Several times thereafter the mother found the child attempting to repeat urination in the masculine position, and felt that the best method of handling the situation was to allow her to take the consequences of her stubborn refusal to be reconciled to the rôle for which she was destined, and, after wetting herself repeatedly, the little girl did resume her normal position in urination. A tendency, however, was noticed of extreme brutality towards her little brother and of reaching for the genitalia of male visitors to the house.

In some way the little girl's envy of the brother's penis must have been communicated to him, for when he was about three and a half, or four, he began to utilize his physical advantage to assert his supremacy over the older child. Whenever she refused to do his bidding he would threaten her with the remark, ' I'll shew you my little thing ', and one day, when he refused to obey some request of his mother and she persisted, he blurted out, ' No, I won't; I'll shew you my little thing '.

It was about this time that the girl's constant handling of her nose began, which the parents very wisely decided to ignore, in spite of the fact that one physician had suggested an operation for a slight growth of adenoids. There seemed little doubt that the nose here had become a penis substitute. The little girl attempted to excel her brother in all sorts of boys' exercises and had adopted several mannerisms peculiar to her father.

The psycho-analytical pedagogue to whom I referred the case reported that the little girl shewed the most violent resentment to her mother and at the same time a great deal of solicitude for her small brother whenever he came into difficulties or was ill. We have interpreted this as resentment against the image of herself which she so detested and tenderness for the image that she would still like to attain.

C. P. Oberndorf, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS

Index Psychoanalyticus, 1893–1926. By Dr. John Rickman, M.A., M.D., Hon. Sec. of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London. (International Psycho-Analytical Library, The Hogarth Press, London, 1928. Pp. 276. Price 18*s*.)

From the preface and announcement we learn the following facts about this volume. ' In all, about 10,000 references, mainly to English and German, also to French, Dutch, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Portuguese books and papers. . . . This index contains, under authors :

1. The titles of all orginal papers and translations in
   Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse, Bd. I—II (1910–1912).
   Jahrbuch für Psyhcoanalyse, Bd. I—VI (1909–1914).
   Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse, Bd. I—XII (1913–1926).
   Imago, Bd. I—XII (1912–1926).
   Int. Jnl. of Psycho-Analysis, Vols. I–VII (1920–1926).
   Psychoanalytic Review, Vols. I–XIII (1913–1926).

2. The titles, publishers, date and place of publication of all the books published by the following :
   Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Wien.
   International Psycho-Analytical Press (now merged into)
   The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London.

3. The titles, publishers, place and date of publication of all books regularly stocked by the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.

4. The titles and date and place of publication of all original papers and books on psycho-analysis supplied to the compiler (in answer to his circular letter) by the members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association.

5. There has also been included a great number of short communications contained in the six periodicals mentioned above.

6. In addition, other papers and books on psycho-analysis (or papers and books intended by the authors to be on psycho-analysis, which is sometimes a very different thing) have been added if they have been mentioned in the psycho-analytical periodical literature. In this category, and to a less extent in the preceding one, the compiler has had to exercise choice ; his preference has been to include rather than to exclude.'

These facts speak for themselves, and every analyst must be grateful to Dr. Rickman for the stupendous labour the work has entailed. One is even encouraged to raise the perhaps preposterous expectation that Dr. Rickman will now proceed to issue a second volume classified according to subject-matter as this one is according to authors. The present reviewer has had occasion to check already a number of the references and can

testify to the remarkable accuracy of them. In the case of three authors, Abraham, Ferenczi and Freud, references are also given to their non-analytical (neurological) writings as well.

Dr. Rickman has deserved well of his colleagues and has produced a volume which will be of exceedingly great value to all workers in psycho-analysis.

E. J.

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Stammering. A Psychoanalytic Interpretation. By Isador H. Coriat, M.D. (New York and Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company. Pp. 68.)

Clinically, pathologically, psycho-analytically, stammering is full of paradox. One per cent. of school-children stammer; there must be 70,000 to 80,000 school-children in these islands to-day who stammer, and yet physicians pay little heed to the trouble. Stammering is not a speech defect, and yet it is said to be almost non-existent in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, the lands of soft sounds. Stammering is very resistant to treatment, and yet quite a considerable proportion of stammering children recover spontaneously—without any form of treatment; despite all the advertised claimants, it is most rare for any of the 'suggestive' treatments (by direct or indirect suggestion—phonative, breathing, etc.) to produce permanent cure, yet tradition allows that the most eloquent of the Greeks had cured himself of stammering by auto-suggestion. Stammering is usually associated with infantile character traits, making the stammerer very inadequate to perform life's ordinary tasks, yet Moses, whom tradition also makes a stammerer ('I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue'), was selected by no one less than God himself to deliver Israel.

The specialists have examined the teeth, the tongue, the nose, the throat, and finding nothing amiss, they said it was 'nervous,' and the physician then said it was all the fault of the parents or the nurses and handed the child over to instructors and infallible methods based upon a physiology all their own, a pathology *ad hoc* and an optimism fortunately undauntable by experience.

During the last twenty years the psycho-analysts have had a look in, but, as was only proper, in difficult and complicated cases where the adult had come to an end of his tether and where stammering was only one amid a list of other anxiety symptoms. Now at all events some light is thrown upon the condition, the difficulties of treatment are recognised and though there are, as Dr. Coriat admits, many problems still unsolved, we have in his mongraph the first acceptable scientific study of the subject. That does not mean that entire agreement has yet been reached among psycho-analysts. To take a few points where difference of opinion still exists, a purely technical point, yet not without its consequences: Dr. Coriat places

stammering among the narcissistic disorders because of the obviously pregenital (oral) nature of the symptom. There is surely more to be said in favour of regarding stammering as a conversion-hysteria ; something analogous to that impairment of walking astasia-abasia. Stammerers can, as Coriat points out, often speak fluently to themselves or in a certain environment. Transference, so far as my limited experience goes, meets with no special difficulties among stammerers.

Dr. Coriat compares the difficulty stammerers have when obliged to pronounce a particular word with the suckling ' who is compelled to nurse at certain periods regardless of its organic sensations'. The analogy does not seem very happy—it is the inner feeling of compulsion —the inability to respond that activates the stammerer's super-ego in those instances.

The most valuable part of the book is the insistence upon the pregenital trends and upon a full analysis of the accompanying character traits ' oral optimism and the anal pessimism ; ' in most cases castration fear is well marked, but not in every case. Dr. Coriat does not call attention to the inversion of the Œdipus attitude, but I believe this will be found to be the rule among stammerers. A useful point in active therapy to which Dr. Coriat calls attention in treatment is to the need of an increasingly strict prohibition of the accompanying tic movements. In regard to prevention there is little yet to be said ; Dr. Coriat warns against the still too common scolding and reproaches or ribaldry of brothers and sisters. He finds that the child should not be nursed too long, thinks thumb-sucking should be prevented and so on, but there is no evidence that any or all of these bad habits produce stammerers. Stammering does not seem to be more frequent in ruder societies where nursing is prolonged, nor among the less instructed strata of civilised societies where the comforter is the rule. Unfortunately we have to confess that our knowledge of the development of the ego and of the super-ego is all too scanty as yet to warrant a laying down of rules for prevention. Dr. Coriat is fully warranted in saying that as soon as stammering appears in the child it should be treated by psychoanalysis, but he is rather ungenerous in making this treatment the exclusive prerogative of physicians, for it is to the lay analysts that we owe a great deal of our extending knowledge of the early mental life of the child—there are at any rate in Europe many women lay analysts peculiarly qualified to treat stammering and other maladjustments of children.

These are, however, trival objections to this valuable monograph, which lucidly illuminates and illustrates a psychopathological problem hitherto very obscure ; Dr. Coriat's book will be appreciated also for its many suggestive and helpful remarks on the technique of the treatment of stammering.

M. D. Eder.

Sex and Repression in Savage Society. By Bronislaw Malinowski, D.Sc. (International Library of Psychology and Scientific Method, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London, 1927. Pp. 285. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

We learn from the publisher's announcement that ' Dr. Malinowski was the first anthropologist in a position to apply psycho-analytic methods to a savage race '. But also that he did so in a very special manner, for ' the writer, however, is by no means uncritical of the psycho-analytic method. In a caustic manner he exposes Freud's famous theory of the origins of Totemism, a theory developed so brilliantly yet fallaciously by Rank, Reik, Róheim, and Jones '.

It may seem ungracious not to welcome whole-heartedly this much-needed co-operation between anthropologist and psycho-analyst, but for the following reason we can do so only with considerable qualification. Dr. Malinowski, an expert anthropologist and a spirited writer, belongs to the now familiar series of distinguished men, among whom we may count Drs. McDougall and Rivers, who after a momentary approach to psycho-analysis develop a flight reaction on closer contact with it. The book thus consists of a jumble of interesting confirmations, misunderstandings and subtle distortions which makes it very difficult to review adequately in a reasonable space. The difficulty is not lessened by the fact that different parts of the book were written with intervals of six years during which the author's resistances were being increasingly mobilised. He frankly describes this process in the opening words of the Preface. ' The doctrine of psycho-analysis has had within the last ten years a truly meteoric rise in popular favour. It has exercised a growing influence over contemporary literature, science, and art. It has in fact been for some time the popular craze of the day. By this many fools have been deeply impressed and many pedants shocked and put off. The present writer belongs evidently to the first category, for he was for a time unduly influenced by the theories of Freud and Rivers, Jung and Jones. But pedantry will remain the master passion in the student, and subsequent reflection soon chilled the intitial enthusiasms '.

The book contains extraordinarily interesting material concerning the sexual life of savages, particularly the famous Trobrianders, who are beginning to oust the Aruntas as the pets of psychological anthropologists. But we cannot dwell on this fascinating side, our concern here being with the relation of the book to psycho-analysis. In the very first chapter the author plunges *in medias res*. Starting from the basis that ' psycho-analytic doctrine is essentially a theory of the influence of family life on the human mind ' (p. 2), and after pointing out what a great variety of family institutions exist in the world, he asks : ' The problem therefore emerges : do the conflicts, passions and attachments within the family vary with its constitution, or do they remain the same throughout humanity ? If they

vary, as in fact they do, then the nuclear complex of the family cannot remain constant in all human races and peoples; it must vary with the constitution of the family. The main task of psychoanalytic theory is, therefore, to study the limits of the variation; to frame the appropriate formula; and finally, to discuss the outstanding types of family constitution and to state the corresponding forms of the nuclear complex' (p. 4). If the author by this meant the relationship between the different types of family institution and the manifold *forms* assumed by the incestuous conflicts, he would be outlining a very important task. But we begin already to suspect that for him nuclear complexes are very superficial and descriptive terms, a suspicion which proves later to be only too well grounded. He then goes on to say: 'The complex exclusively known to the Freudian school, and assumed by them to be universal, I mean the Œdipus complex, corresponds essentially to our patrilineal Aryan family with the developed *patria potestas*, buttressed by Roman law and Christian morals, and accentuated by the modern economic conditions of the well-to-do bourgeoisie. Yet this complex is assumed to exist in every savage or barbarous society. This certainly cannot be correct' (p. 5), thus starting by begging the whole question. Having thus blinded himself, he never really investigates the problem, which remains closed for him by an *ipse dixit*. Seeing only the possibility that the nuclear complex may be fashioned by the particular type of family organization, he never asks if there may not be still more fundamental factors in its creation. He lashes the psycho-analyst for supposedly ignoring the variety of family life that exists in different races, and confining their attention to the upper classes of Western Europe, but he is guilty of underestimating a much more fundamental consideration, namely, that even in the lower races every child is born of two parents of opposite sexes. The bearing of this fundamental fact is nowhere appreciated in the book, the reason being that it leaves its impression in much deeper layers of the mind, the unconscious proper, than those the author is acquainted with. We have extremely good grounds, none of which does the author mention, for making what he terms the assumption in the following passage: 'Psycho-analysis, by emphasising that the interest of primitive man is centred in himself and in the people around him, and is of a concrete and dynamic nature, has given the right foundation to primitive psychology, hitherto frequently immeshed in a false view of the dispassionate interest of man in nature and of his concern with philosophic speculations about his destiny. But by ignoring the first problem, and by making the tacit assumption that the Œdipus complex exists in all types of society, certain errors have crept into the anthropological work of psycho-analysts. Thus they cannot reach correct results when they try to trace the Œdipus complex, essentially patriarchal in character, in a matrilineal society' (p. 6).

We must carefully distinguish here two questions which are confounded in Dr. Malinowski's writings. (1) What is the relation between the nuclear (incest) complex and the form assumed by the family, patrilineal, matrilinial, etc ? (2) What is the relation between incest and morality in general ? As is well known, Freud maintains that the spiritual aspects of culture, morality, religion, etc. (as distinct from the more practical aspects of culture, such as the use of tools, etc.), develop in the individual, and probably developed in the race, as the direct result of the conflict over incest. On both these matters, as well as on even more fundamental ones, Dr. Malinowski takes direct issue with the conclusions of psycho-analysis.

We will first point out the respects in which he supports the findings of psycho-analysis, then note the increasing ambivalence, and finally try to ascertain the precise ways in which he differs from them. To begin with, and this is one of the most valuable parts of the book, he gives a vivid account of the incest taboos obtaining among the Trobrianders. Children there are allowed very considerable sexual freedom, but there is a strict taboo against incest. ' When we consider that these children run about naked, that their excretory functions are treated openly and naturally, that there is no general taboo on bodily parts or on nakedness in general ; when we further consider that small children at the age of three and four are beginning to be aware of the existence of such a thing as genital sexuality, and of the fact that this will be their pleasure quite soon just as other infantile plays will be . . . one of the main interests of these children consists of sexual pastimes. At an early age children are initiated by each other, or sometimes by a slightly older companion, into the practices of sex. Naturally at this stage they are unable to carry out the act properly, but they content themselves with all sorts of games in which they are left quite at liberty by their elders, and thus they can satisfy their curiosity and their sensuality directly and without disguise '(p. 55). ' From an early age, when the girl first puts on her grass petticoat, brothers and sisters of the same mother must be separated from each other, in obedience to the strict taboo which enjoins that there shall be no intimate relations between them. Even earlier, when they first can move about and walk, they play in different groups. Later on they never consort together socially on a free footing, and above all there must never be the slightest suspicion of an interest of one of them in the love affairs of the other. Although there is comparative freedom in playing and language between children, not even quite a small boy would associate sex with his sisters, still less make any sexual allusion or joke in their presence ' (pp. 57, 58). One would say that the effects of the incest taboo do not radiate over sexual activity in general extensively among the Trobrianders as they do in European society, as though they had, in this respect at least, learnt to deal more successfully

with the effects of this taboo than we have. Our interest is, therefore, aroused in the form of the taboo obtaining among them.

This is doubtless to be correlated with the difference in the family type characteristic of these islanders. All the stress appears to be laid on the avoidance of brother-sister incest. Son-mother incest is not so much tabooed socially as regarded as inconceivable, and Dr. Malinowski illustrates the difference very neatly by comparison of material drawn from myths, dreams, curses, jokes, etc. At this point in his description, however, it is already becoming clear that he tends to confound merely social disapproval with what psycho-analysts call repression, a matter to which we shall recur later. The father is a friendly and lenient figure, with no power over the children, the paternal *potestas* being invested in the mother's brother, who thus becomes a somewhat stern figure. The nuclear complex thus assumes a different form from the one familiar in our society. As Dr. Malinowski tersely puts it, ' we might say that in the Œdipus complex there is the repressed desire to kill the father and marry the mother, while in the matrilineal society of the Trobriands the wish is to marry the sister and to kill the maternal uncle ' (p. 80). The repressed wishes in question are plainly hinted at in dreams and myths.

Now what is the meaning of this state of affairs ? Is the incest complex really different in its origin and nature in the two societies, or is it merely distorted and disguised in different ways ? Part III. of the book is largely taken up with an ambivalent rebuttal of a theory put forward by the present reviewer in this JOURNAL (Vol. VI, p. 109) to account for the differences in question. Dr. Malinowski describes this shortly as follows : ' Thus we have a " decomposition of the primal father into a kind and lenient actual father on the one hand and a stern and moral uncle on the other ". In other words the combination of mother-right and ignorance (i.e. the supposed sexual ignorance of savages) protects both father and son from their maternal rivalry and hostility. For Dr. Jones, then, the Œdipus complex is fundamental ; and " the matrilineal system with its avunculate complex arose . . . as a mode of defence against the primordial Œdipus tendencies " ' (p. 138), and then adds the encouraging comment : ' All these views will strike the readers of the first two parts of this book as not altogether unfamiliar, and sound in all the essentials '. Indeed, he goes on to say : ' This view seems to me to be perfectly well in harmony with all the facts which I have discovered in Melanesia, and with any other kinship systems with which I am acquainted through literature. Should Dr. Jones's hypothesis become established by subsequent research, as I think and hope it will be, the value of my own contributions will obviously be very much enhanced. For instead of having drawn attention to a mere accidental constellation, I should have had the good fortune to discover phenomena of universal evolutionary and genetic importance. In a way it seems to me

that Dr. Jones's hypothesis is a daring and original extension of my own conclusions, that in mother-right the family complex must be different from the Œdipus complex ; that in the matrilineal conditions the hate is removed from the father and placed upon the maternal uncle ; that any incestuous temptations are directed towards the sister rather than towards the mother ' (p. 139).

All this sounds excellent, and yet in the very next chapter Dr. Malinowski breaks out into a vigorous repudiation of the psycho-analytical views about the Œdipus complex, denounces them as ' metaphysical,' and commits a number of easily avoidable misunderstandings of my statements which present all the familiar marks of ' unconscious resistance '. Betraying no appreciation of the actual sources of the Œdipus complex, he says, ' I cannot conceive of it as the metaphysical entity, creative, but not created, prior to all things and not caused by anything else ' (p. 143). Taking a phrase of mine about ' repression of the complex ', he asks ' Is there a sub-unconscious below the actual unconscious and what does the concept of a repressed repression mean ? Surely all this goes beyond the ordinary psycho-analytic doctrine and leads us into some unknown fields ; I suspect moreover that they are the fields of metaphysics ! ' (p. 144). He disagrees with what I termed the ' tendentious denial of physical paternity ' (thus, incidentally, losing a piece of insight specially valuable to the anthropologist) and writes : ' I am firmly convinced that the ignorance of these complicated physiological processes is as natural and direct as is the ignorance of the processes of digestion, secretion, of the gradual bodily decay, in short, of all that happens in the human body. I do not know why we should assume that people on a very low level of culture have received their early revelation about certain aspects of embryology while in all other aspects of natural science they know next to nothing as to the causal connections of phenomena ' (p. 145).

We have evidently run here into some psychological difficulty, concerned with the primary nature of the Œdipus complex. If there is a stern uncle on the spot, why should psycho-analysts postulate a hypothetical father behind him ? As if stern uncles were the prerogatives of Melanesia, and not familiar enough figures in European society ! Dr. Malinowski calls his description of the avunculate society a ' correction of extreme importance '. But it is not a correction at all. We never doubted that *in consciousness* uncles can function in the way that fathers more often do among ourselves. So can school teachers, but this is nothing more than a form of the father complex, not a primary ' teacher complex ' in itself.

It all comes of the wicked psycho-analytic habit of restricting their observations to the upper classes of the large European cities and not taking into account other classes and other races. Whatever makes Dr. Malinowski think that this is so ? Has he not even heard of the existence of free psycho-

analytical clinics? 'I have not, as stated already, found in any psycho-analytic account any direct and consistent reference to the social milieu, still less any discussion of how the nuclear complex and its causes vary with the social stratum in our society. Yet it is obvious that the infantile conflicts will not be the same in the lavish nursery of the wealthy bourgeois as in the cabin of the peasant, or in the one-room tenement of the poor working man' (p. 14). He goes so far as to say that psycho-analysts have omitted to make a study of their own subject, namely, the vicissitudes of instinctual functioning: 'I shall try to show that the neglect to study what happens to human instincts under culture is responsible for the fantastic hypothesis advanced to account for the Œdipus complex' (p. 182).

Freud's theory of totemism fares badly at Dr. Malinoswki's hands. Misled by Freud's dramatic style, he discusses the theory as though one gigantic parricide was supposed to create civilisation on the spot, and on this basis naturally finds it easy to mock at the idea. He contrasts an entirely animal man before the tragedy with an entirely civilised one immediately after it and paints the contrast in very artificial terms. Few people, for instance, well acquainted with animal life would not find the following statement exaggerated: 'Psychologically it is very important to realize that each new (instinctual) response replaces and obliterates the old emotional attitude; that no traces of the previous emotion are carried over into the new one. While governed by a new instinct the animal is no more in the throes of a previous one. Remorse, mental conflict, ambivalent emotion—these are cultural, that is human, and not animal responses' (p. 162). '. . . It is easy to perceive that the primeval horde has been equipped with all the bias, maladjustments and ill-tempers of a middle-class European family, and then let loose in a prehistoric jungle to run riot in a most attractive but fantastic hypothesis. Let us yield, however, to the temptation of Freud's inspiring speculations and admit for the sake of the argument that the primeval crime had been committed. Even then we are faced by insurmountable difficulties in accepting the consequences. As we saw, we are asked to believe that the totemic crime produces remorse which is expressed in the sacrament of endocannibalistic totemic feast, and in the institution of sexual taboo. This implies that the parricidal sons had a conscience. But conscience is a most unnatural mental trait imposed upon man by culture. It also implies that they had the possibilities of legislating, of establishing moral values, religious ceremonies and social bonds. All of which it is again impossible to assume or imagine, for the simple reason that *ex hypothesi* the events are happening in pre-cultural milieu, and culture, we must remember, cannot be created in one moment and by one act' (p. 165). The following question would also appear superficial to anyone accustomed to the sight of battles among male animals, e.g. stags: 'Why should the young males remain hanging around the

parental horde, why should they hate the father and desire his death ? As we know, they are glad to be free and they have no wish to return to the parental horde. Why should they finally even attempt or accomplish the cumbersome and unpleasant act of killing the old male, while by merely waiting for his retirement they might gain a free access to the horde should they so desire ? ' (p. 164).

Incidentally, Dr. Malinowski is not quite right when he says, ' It will be obvious to any reader of Dr. Jones's article that he fully adopts Freud's hypothesis about the origins of human civilisation. . . . Dr. Jones also is in full agreement with the racial memory of the original crime, for he speaks about the " inheritance of impulse dating from the primal horde " ' (p. 158). The truth is that, although I feel sure there is some connection of a yet undefined nature between the events of pre-history and present-day unconscious conflicts, I regard Freud's theory of direct inheritance as being both unproven and biologically improbable.

* * * *

How, then, does Dr. Malinowski view the whole matter ? He maintains that the typical monogamous family is ' the most important group in primitive societies ' (p. 184). He rejects the concept of a herd instinct and takes the psycho-analytical view that ' common sociability develops by extension of the family bonds and from no other sources ' (p. 185). Further, ' we find in all societies that the strangest barrier and the most fundamental prohibition are those against incest ' (p. 244), and, again, ' There is not the slightest doubt that exogamy is correlated with the prohibition of incest, that it is merely an extension of this taboo, exactly as the institution of the clan with its classificatory terms of relationship is simply an extension of the family and its mode of kinship nomenclature ' (p. 243).

So far, so good. We are thus brought up once more against the old problem of the incest taboo. Dr. Malinowski makes short work of the older explanations of this, such as Westermarck's, etc. His own explanation is that the family structure is for cultural reasons of the highest importance and that sexuality within would disrupt it. It should be noted that according to this explanation the problem is thought of in quite adult, or at least adolescent, terms. ' Now into such a situation the inclination towards incest would enter as a destructive element. Any approach of the mother with sensual or erotic temptations would involve the disruption of the relationship so laboriously constructed. Mating with her would have to be, as all mating must be, preceded by courtship and a type of behaviour completely incompatible with submission, independence and reverence. The mother, moreover, is not alone. She is married to another male. Any sensual temptation would not only upset completely the relation between son and mother but also, indirectly, that between son and father. Active hostile rivalry would replace the harmonious relationship which is

the type of complete dependence and thorough submission to leadership. If, therefore, we agree with the psycho-analysts that incest must be a universal temptation, we see that its dangers are not merely psychological nor can they be explained by any such hypotheses as that of Freud's primeval crime. Incest must be forbidden because, if our analysis of the family and its rôle in the formation of culture be correct, incest is incompatible with the establishment of the first foundations of culture. In any type of civilization in which custom, morals, and law would allow incest, the family could not continue to exist. At maturity we would witness the breaking up of the family, hence complete social chaos and an impossibility of continuing cultural tradition. Incest would mean the upsetting of age distinctions, the mixing up of generations, the disorganization of sentiment and a violent exchange of rôles at a time when the family is the most important educational medium. No society could exist under such conditions. The alternative type of culture under which incest is excluded is the only one consistent with the existence of social organization and culture ' (pp. 250, 251). Or, put more shortly, ' Incest, as a normal mode of behaviour, cannot exist in humanity, because it is incompatible with family life and would disorganize its very foundations ' (p. 252).

In another place he even seems to doubt whether the sexual rivalry is the essential point of father-son antagonism: ' For, as the children, especially the sons, grow up, education, cohesion within the family, and co-operation demand the existence of a personal authority which stands for the enforcement of order within the family and for the conformation to tribal law outside. The difficult position of the father is, as we can see, not the result merely of male jealousy, of the ill-tempers of an older man and of his sexual envy, as seems to be implied in most psycho-analytic writings; it is a deep and essential character of the human family which has to undertake two tasks: it has to carry on propagation of the species and it has to insure the continuity of culture. The paternal sentiment with its two phases, the first protective, the other coercive, is the inevitable correlate of the dual function in the human family. The essential attitudes within the Œdipus complex, the ambivalent tenderness and repulsion between son and father, are directly founded in the growth of the family from nature into culture. There is no need for an *ad hoc* hypothesis in order to explain these features ' (p. 261). An Œdipus complex, therefore, is not something founded in the nature of things; it is an intrusion into a situation where it was not wanted and is not intrinsically present. ' To us, however, the complex is not a cause but a by-product, not a creative principle but a maladjustment ' (p. 279).

The contrast between Dr. Malinowski's view and the psycho-analytical one is becoming clear, and for confirmation of the antithesis we inquire into his views about the origin of the incestuous tendencies themselves. In

his initial approach to psycho-analysis he appeared to admit the existence of these tendencies in childhood, but the following illuminating foot-note speaks for itself : ' Since this was first written in 1921, I have changed my views on this subject. The statement that a young organism reacts sexually to close bodily contact with the mother appears to me now absurd. I am glad I may use this strong word, having written the absurd statement myself ' (p. 36). Whence then do they come ? The answer is simple : through a fictitious pseudo-regression at puberty or later which has misled all psycho-analysts. ' The analogy between the preparatory actions of the sexual drive and the consummatory actions of the infantile impulses are remarkable. The two are to be distinguished mainly by their function and by the essential difference between the consummatory actions in each case. What is the result of this partial similarity ? We can borrow from psycho-analysis the principle which has now become generally accepted in psychology that there are no experiences in later life which would not stir up analogous memories from infancy ' (p. 247). ' It is at this time (i.e. at puberty) that strong resistances arise in the individual's mind, that all sensuality felt towards the mother becomes repressed, and that the sub-conscious temptation of incest arises from the blending of early memories with new experiences. The difference between this explanation and that of psycho-analysis consists in the fact that Freud assumes a continual persistence from infancy of the same attitude towards the mother. In our argument we try to show that there is only a partial identity between the early and the later drives, that this identity is due essentially to the mechanism of sentiment formation ; that this explains the non-existence of temptations among animals ; and that the retrospective power of new sentiments in man is the cause of incestuous temptation ' (p. 249).

With this the whole problem is solved. By questioning the evidence psycho-analysis has produced (from study of both adults and children) of the early force of incestuous tendencies it has become possible to regard them as merely an undesirable extension of adult sexuality, an extension which has to be forbidden in the interests of the family and of society. If only life were so simple !

We can now understand how Dr. Malinowski can maintain that both the variety of incest and the corresponding taboo against it are determined by the family type, this in its turn being dependent on external cultural conditions. In one type of culture there is son-mother incest and repression of it, in another brother-sister, and so on. A fundamental Œdipus complex whose manifestations differ according to the variety of internal defence as mirrored in the family culture, in short, the psycho-analytical view of the matter, is simply nonsense for him. There is no appreciation at all of the extraordinary *depth* of the Œdipus complex, of its roots in the earliest and most buried layers of the infant's unconscious. ' To me on the other hand

the nuclear family complex is a functional formation dependent upon the structure and upon the culture of a society ' (p. 142). It follows that when the father loses his patriarchal position, as he is rapidly doing, the basis of psycho-analysis will have gone ; ' Psycho-analysis cannot hope, I think, to preserve its " Œdipus complex " for future generations, who will only know a weak and hen-pecked father. For him the children will feel indulgent pity rather than hatred and fear ! ' (p. 27).

The attentive will readily discern that for Dr. Malinowski the essence of repression is not an unconscious barrier, but a conscious social taboo. It is therefore in accord with his tendency to replace the instinctual basis of psycho-analytical theory by sociological principles that he announces ' it is enough to realize clearly that a social taboo does not derive its force from instinct ' (p. 199). Indeed, the unconscious itself is evidently a most tenuous affair, and things are only to be called unconscious when they are extremely visible : for instance, when I infer an Œdipus complex behind the distorted phenomena of Melanesian family life I am said to ' admit fully that the attitudes typical of the Œdipus complex cannot be found either in the conscious or unconscious ' (p. 144). Psycho-analysts undoubtedly make too much of the unconscious : ' But as soon as he leaves his neurotic patients and enters the lecture room with a general psychological theory, he (i.e. the psycho-analyst) might as well realize that complexes do not exist, that certainly they do not lead an independent existence in the unconscious and that they are only part of an organic whole, of which the essential constituents are not repressed at all ' (p. 174).

Dr. Malinowski even falls into the old fallacy of thinking that the psycho-analyst ascribes all good and all evil in a self-contradictory way to the Œdipus complex, readily confounding the wishes themselves with the conflict arising in connection with the wishes. If it is the cause of religion why seek to remove it for therapeutic reasons ? (p. 279). In other words, this complex is supposed to be, for psycho-analysts as it is for Dr. Malinowski, an accidental intrusion into an otherwise well-ordered world, and one therefore to be expelled as he imagines we do therapeutically.

* * * *

We have seen that Dr. Malinowski either denies altogether or reduces to the most shadowy proportions the three most fundamental tenets of psycho-analysis : the doctrines of infantile incest, of repression, and of the unconscious. This is not quite the same thing as what we were promised, ' the application of psycho-analytic methods to a savage race.' Dr. Malinowski, a man of unquestioned eminence in anthropology, has shown himself to be a shrewd observer in sociology and a keen natural psychologist. If only he had some personal acquaintance with the unconscious, some knowledge of psycho-analytic practice as well as psycho-analytic theory, he would have unrivalled opportunities opened up to him. Perhaps

it is still permissible to hope that he will take advantage of his gifts and opportunities.

E. J.

✶

Psycho-Analysis for All. By Dr. Rudolf Urbantschitsch. Translated by Arnold Eiloart, Ph.D., B.Sc. (London, The C. W. Daniel Co., 1928. Pp. 63. Price 2*s* 6*d*. net.)

' Psycho-Analysis for All ' is not the same as ' All of Psycho-Analysis '. The author realizes this ; the more intelligent of the public will realize it too ; for the others the book will be an enlightenment and will provide a thought-provoking hour. If the transference to quacks (medically qualified and lay) were not as strong as it is frequently proved to be, the chief lesson of the book, that therapy has to go beyond the first relief of the anxiety of the patient, would make patients dissatisfied with any but a deep analysis. The ingenious and dramatic way in which the author traps the reader into satisfaction at the first or ' relief ' stage of therapeutic activity, only to reveal the dangers of half-analysis, places this book in the ranks of Sensational Literature, while its warning to be content only with thoroughness places it among the Guide Books.

This book tries to give a peep behind the scenes, to show the workshop in action. For a popular account it is a praise-worthy attempt, but shares with film versions of psycho-analysis one great error—an inaccurate rendering of the tempo of unconscious processes. Dramatic considerations require speedy changes ; in therapy we find that deep processes are slow. If this time element could be inserted into graphic narratives such a book as this would deserve even more praise.

John Rickman.

✶

Principles of Abnormal Psychology. By E. S. Conklin, Professor of Psychology in the University of Oregon. (London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928. Pp. 457. Price 15*s*.)

This book, intended as a reading course for senior students of psychology, is a very fair and comprehensive presentation of the more elementary aspects of the subject. It is well adapted to the purpose for which it is written and clears a great deal of preliminary ground so as to make it possible for the student to concentrate on further problems.

The book gives, however, to European readers a keen impression of the remoteness of Oregon, for one is struck throughout by the author's out-of-touchness with European work. Most of the references are to American writers or, in a few cases, American translations rather than English ones. To take one example only : in the bibliography attached to the chapter on hysteria no writings of Freud's are referred to, except his ' Selected Papers ' dating from 1895, and the only other European psycho-

analyst referred to is Hitschmann. Throughout the whole book no mention is made of Freud's ' Collected Papers ', which one would surely think should be the basis of students' work. The author's general lack of orientation may also be illustrated by his referring to Hart as an advocate of psycho-analytical theory ; he says, incidentally also, that what he terms Freud's theory of the ' Subconscious ' has best been formulated by Hart.

The author takes the unusual view that it is more profitable to introduce students of psychology to psychopathology by means of the psychoses before allowing them to study the neuroses. This is certainly contradictory to our general experience.

The author's attitude towards psycho-analysis is very ' correct '. Within certain limits he gives an adequate presentation of the subject, the best part of which is the theory of dreams. How little he has really penetrated into the subject, however, is shown by his remark that ' a psycho-analysis is really no more than an exceptionally elaborate anamnesis, or case history, elicited in extensive detail ' (p. 208), and that ' neither of these terms (i.e. Œdipus complex and Electra complex) to-day signifies anything more than that which was covered in the preceding paragraphs on libido fixation. They could be dropped without any loss to the scheme of thinking so far as individual psychopathology is concerned. They are in fact relics of an earlier stage in the development of psycho-analytic thought ' (p. 219). When discussing paranoia, manic depressive insanity, and general paralysis of the insane no mention is made of the important psycho-analytic work that has been done on these subjects, and that on alcoholism is summed up in one very inadequate sentence. It is not true to say, as the author does, that ' the psycho-analytic school condemns the use of hypnosis even for the psychoneuroses ' (p. 262).

We may conclude our review with two further quotations. The psycho-analytical theory of hypnosis is beautifully summarized in the sentence : ' It is like being in love only a great deal more so '. The last sentence in the book is : ' The psycho-analytic movement is to-day the most talked of single influence in the psychology of the abnormal in human behaviour '.

E. J.

*

The Terror Dream. By George H. Green, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, 1925. Pp. 126. Price 5s.)

This book takes the form of a long ' paper ' on the terror dream and a short appendix on the ' execution dream '. The long first section consisting of 112 pages, without breaks or sub-titles of any kind, makes the work less attractive than would be the case if the reader were offered a little more help in following the development of the author's ideas.

As is to be expected in view of Dr. Green's earlier works, much use is made of psycho-analytic conceptions. The terror dream is regarded

throughout in terms of ' wish-fulfilment ', while the mechanisms of conflict, ambivalency, repression and abreaction also receive due attention. In fact the book is quite a sound and useful exposition so far as it goes. That it does not go further is due chiefly to one most serious and significant omision—the fact that it contains no indication at all of the importance of sexual factors in the terror dream. This fact alone makes the book profoundly unsatisfying to the psycho-analytically instructed reader. Indeed the treatment is very superficial and unilluminating as compared with that in Ernest Jones's *Alptraum* and emphasizes the desirability of the latter work being made accessible to English readers.

J. C. F.

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An Approach to the Psychology of Religion. By J. Cyril Flower, M.A., Ph.D., Upton Lecturer in the Psychology of Religion, Manchester College, Oxford. (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1927. Pp. 245. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

This volume, containing a Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation, is a broad and very well written contribution to the psychology of religion. More than a half of it is taken up with an intensive study of the religion of the Winnebago Indians and an account of George Fox, and these two studies constitute certainly the most valuable part of the book. There is a chapter on ' Psychopathology and Religion ' which is distinctly inadequate.

The author's point of view is best illustrated by the following quotation : ' Once religion as a special type of response has been initiated it naturally and inevitably deals with the major interests which man instinctively pursues, but the fundamental problem of religion is : How is it that man comes to pursue these interests no longer directly by instinctive and other controlled practical behaviour, but indirectly by phantasy, imagination, belief, etc ? A careful scrutiny of the facts of the past, so far as these are available in reliable form, of the facts in connection with the behaviour and beliefs of modern " primitives ", and of the essence of the processes of our own thought, seems to me to lead to this answer : It is because man is the animal which discriminates more than the isolated presentations for which there is adequate external stimulus, and he does this without having any specific mechanism inherent in his make-up for response. It is this fundamental fact—which itself cannot be explained at present by anything simpler—that lies behind all the mental conflicts, fantasies, day-dreams, imaginations, visions, dreams, rationalizations, arts, philosophies, and religions of man. To attempt to derive religion from infantile mental processes is like trying to derive day from night. Infantile processes of fantasy and the rest are themselves the effects of contact with something which is more than the existing mechanisms for response are qualified to deal with ' (pp. 208–9).

The author attempts to combine Starbuck's dual basis of (1) sin and (2) incompleteness by finding a common formula in the word ' frustration '. The psycho-analytical bearing of this conclusion will be evident, though the author is naturally not in a position to say much that is useful about the inner meaning of the sense of frustration. He admits that this state of mind is most frequent at the age of puberty, but maintains that it has no special reference to sexuality : ' that every kind of religious experience is determined by some irregular, repressed or sublimated sex interest is as great an exaggeration as the original (sic !) Freudian theory that all psycho-neuroses are directly due to some disturbance in sexual function ' (p. 134).

E. J.

*

A B C of Adler's Psychology. By Philippe Mairet. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, 1928. Pp. 116. Price 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

' Individual Psychology ', we read on line 1 of the Foreword, ' is not psycho-analysis '. The rest of the book unfortunately is not so definite. Just because Adler's philosophy is an A B C so simple that, as advertisements say, ' a child could use it ', there is no good reason why the book should contain so many dark sayings. Here are a few examples : ' It may be said without exaggeration that psycho-analysis owes its existence to Schopenhauer ' (p. 7)—the truth being that Adler owes much to this philosopher. Since Individual Psychology is not psycho-analysis, it does not follow that psycho-analysis owes anything to Schopenhauer ; nor does it. Again, ' The Unconscious is a much vaster, super-individual intelligence from which our conscious thinking has cut itself off '(p. 14) —which might have come from Jung, the Alpha and Omega of ' analytical ' mysticism—but turns out to be Unconscious Memory ' not as recollection but as feeling—as emotional reactions to persons and things ' ; this later is described in terms of post-hypnotic suggestion, and later still by saying that the selective agent operating on the unconscious is ' organic consciousness of a *need*, of some specific inferiority which has to be conpensated ' (p. 20). This is difficult reading in an A B C. We learn that the prestige of Freud and his school was achieved by its apparently miraculous cures of war-neuroses (p. 18). It is odd that just these should be singled out, since of all disorders they have proved least amenable to psycho-analytical influence.

The author to the very end is apologetic, which is unnecessary in anyone and positively unbecoming in an Adlerian. He says that ' the culture of human behaviour which this work [International Society for Individual Psychology] has begun already to propagate might well be mistaken for an almost platitudinous ethics, but for two things—its practical results and

the background of scientific method out of which it is appearing'. Was ever advocacy more hesitant? The book ends with a surprise. 'Adler resembles no one so much as the great Chinese thinkers. If Europe is not too far gone to make use of his service, he may well come to be known as the Confucius of the West.'

John Rickman.

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Symbolism. Its Meaning and Effect. By A. N. Whitehead, F.R.S., Hon. D.Sc., Hon. LL.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1928. Pp. 104. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*)

The greater part of this little book, which represents the Barbour-Page Lectures at the University of Virginia in 1927, is epistemological in character and therefore does not call for detailed criticism in this JOURNAL—a fact for which the present reviewer is not altogether sorry, for the book is far from easy reading (though—quite genuinely—this is a reflection more upon the reviewer's intelligence than upon the clarity of the distinguished writer).

Symbolism is here taken in a much wider sense than that understood by psycho-analytical writers. The human mind is said to function symbolically 'when some components of its experience elicit consciousness, beliefs, emotions, and usages, respecting other components of its experience'. As defined in this way symbolism includes language, written and spoken, and 'the use of sense perceptions in the character of symbols for more primitive elements in our experience'. It plays a dominant part in the way in which higher organisms conduct their lives and is at once the course of progress and of error. There follows a discussion which is of considerable interest from the point of view of the general theory of knowledge, but in which the more intimate psychological factors (especially those to which psycho-analytic work has drawn attention) do not receive much notice. In the last chapter, however, the author outlines his view of the sociological value of symbolism. Cultural progress inplies a threat to social solidarity, which is most secure at the level of instinctive response. Symbolism ensures the arousal of adequate social affects, ensuring responses that are favourable to the preservation of the group, but at the same time without the uniformity or complete freedom from criticism that is characteristic of instinct. It is obvious that Professor Whitehead is here in touch with problems which also confront the psycho-analyst who is interested in the social applications of his science. Unfortunately he has not availed himself of the data provided by psycho-analytic research, so that the present book does not advance this aspect of the subject to the extent that might otherwise have been expected.

J. C. F.

Conditioned Reflexes. An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex. By I. P. Pavlov. For. Mem. R.S. Translated and edited by G. V. Anrep, M.D., D.Sc. (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1927. Pp. 430. Price 28*s.*)

This is one of the most important and original books ever published on the nervous system. The main outlines of Professor Pavlov's researches have been known for some years, but here we have for the first time a complete presentation of them in English. The work of translating and collating them must have been very great indeed, and it has been excellently performed by one of his own colleagues who is now a lecturer in the University of Cambridge.

Professor Pavlov sets himself the task, among others, of describing animal pathology in physiological terms. He deliberately excludes psychological considerations, and the following passages give a plain hint of his grounds. ' In fact it is still open to discussion whether psychology is a natural science, or whether it can be regarded as a science at all '. ' Such testimony seems to show clearly that psychology cannot yet claim the status of an exact science ' (p. 3).

In an interesting chapter where the applications to man are discussed, the author considers problems of mental disorder. He is evidently very much at sea in this field, but none the less there are some interesting correlations between his work and that of psychopathologists. For instance, his main point of view is the contrast, or conflict, between the processes of excitation and inhibition of response, and he attempts to group nervous reactions on this basis. ' So far as can be judged on the basis of casual observation I believe that these two variations in the pathological disturbance of the cortical activity in animals are comparable to the two forms of neurosis in man—in the pre-Freudian terminology *neurasthenia* and *hysteria*—the first with exaggeration of the excitatory and weakness of the inhibitory process, the second with a predominance of the inhibitory and weakness of the excitatory process ' (pp. 397, 398).

The time is not yet ripe for this important correlation between psychology and physiology to be profitably attempted, but when the time comes Professor Pavlov's work will undoubtedly be one of the great landmarks on the physiological side.

E. J.

*

Reluctantly Told. By Jane Hillyer. (London, Wishart & Co., 1927. Pp. 219. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*)

' Reluctantly Told ' is an account of the author's recollections of an attack of manic-depressive insanity written after leaving the asylum in which she had lived for four years. Without knowledge of the latest theories of the psychosis, she gives an accurate description of her feelings

in the different stages of her disorder, and this description corresponds to a remarkable degree with Abraham's concept of the mechanism of this insanity in his ' Selected Papers on Psycho-Analysis.'

Jane Hillyer was the youngest daughter of two musicians. The father was a highly sensitive idealist, dominated by the desire to create a demand for music in an industrial community of a north-western State ; he was frustrated in his efforts by the overwhelming inertia of the external world and his own high-keyed temperament. He seems to have had some degree of oral fixation, which is manifested by his resorting to alcohol as a refuge and by his final suicide by poison when Jane was thirteen years old. Her mother was a music teacher, resolute and courageous, who strove to fight on beside her husband—' the test of her own personality lay with his success or failure '—and after his death made her children's successful living her chief concern ; they were brought up in an atmosphere of effort to continue their father's work in their own lives. She appears to have been a well-balanced person, even-tempered, with a sense of humour, quietly calm.

Jane had an older brother and sister, about whom little is told. Much of Jane's attitude as a child can be gathered from her account of her feelings in the manic stage. From subsequent events we can see Jane as a baby with a strong constitutional oral fixation to her mother, with difficulty passing through the anal stage and early forming a severe super-ego before the genital stage of object love was reached. We see in her subsequent history evidence of a strong fixation to her father, which is shown in her description of herself dancing to his airs, going to sleep with his music in her ears, being fascinated by his talks and enthusiasms and waiting for him in the evenings, ' sitting still, a woman does . . . I was a duchess, an empress, a princess when he bent over my hand and kissed it '.

At four years old we see her a mischievous child with a violent temper, begging, pleading, crying and stamping for her mother to turn her face to her again, vowing not to do it again with the fear of desertion in her heart ; ' maybe she never will ' turn her face again. We see her again, a highly-strung child, with the desire to appear brave before her brother, facing the ordeal of his pretence at being a bear in a dark room. At ten the fixation to her father manifests itself in her erotic attachment to a violinist friend of her father's, much older than herself ; ' he was the Prince in Cinderella, the Lohengrin of fancy ', she felt unworthy of his lightest thought. This affection lasted till she was sixteen, when she was parted from him by her elders. During the last years of it she felt a divided personality, for he was ' a lover to my senses ; a brother in my thoughts ' ; and just as earlier as a child in the Œdipus situation she must have been divided, so there is the division between her desires and her loyalty ' to his loyalty to his wife '.

During this time she was living in the tensest atmosphere at home, and suffering bitter disappointment through her ideal of her father; she saw his personality disintegrating before her eyes; he was growing loathsome in his own sight; disgrace and failure were words flung at him by others, leaving her with 'the sense of necessity of bearing his weakness like a banner of triumph in her hands'.

One day in her fourteenth year she met her father, as she thought drunk, in the street, and through intense fear ignored him. A few days later she heard of his suicide and felt responsible for his death; she says 'I could not have felt more guilty had I administered the draught myself'. It seems as if she had partially introjected her father imago at this point, for the sadism of the super-ego is manifested in the compact she made with herself, 'No slipping, no weakening', and whenever she made a slight mistake she relived that moment of 'stultifying fear'. In this incident strong incest wishes appear to have threatened conciousness, the great anxiety at seeing her father drunk being due to her correlating this state with sexual aggression, and this must have been followed immediately by the revival of the wish for his death, originating in former frustrations. Later every time she 'slipped', anxiety was re-experienced and she led the exhausting existence of the obsessional neurotic in paying careful attention to minute details of behaviour. The associations to slipping are significant. She compares life after her recovery to walking a tight rope, the fear of slipping is ever present, evoking terrifying ideas of 'the swiftness of fall, the sickening thud, the feel of sawdust in my throat, down where the clowns and tigers tramp'; again, 'if I veered to one side the hammer might fall and crush me—a second collapse—if I veered to the other I would be bruised by the anvil, flattened into a boneless form of him who is always ill and never has a pain'.

Owing to a continued identification with her father, we find her in the early twenties attracted to a woman teacher, in many ways resembling her mother—'mature and somewhat older than myself'. In her relations with Miss Winthrop we can see the repetition of what was most probably her early behaviour towards her mother; she felt the necessity to 'match her dignity with a reticence' of her own. She was warned by her elders that this was a homosexual attachment with dangerous possibilities, and the realization aroused self-hatred, causing her, through disgust with herself, to break off the friendship abruptly. In this friendship there were distinct elements of oral satisfaction; speaking of it she says, 'being with her was in the quality of a welcome anæsthetic', a phrase which might equally well be applied to satisfaction at the breast.

The Œdipus situation is here revived from another earlier angle, and again the feeling of guilt constrained her to give up her love-object and was further expressed in her feeling that she had betrayed her friend and

been disloyal to her. At this time she was in a very run-down condition, suffering from a severe attack of incipient diabetes and, being unable to endure this further renewal of conflict and frustration, she tried to commit suicide by poison, attempting to obtain therefrom, as her father had previously done, supreme orgastic satisfaction in an oral manner.

The development of the disease reveals the complete introjection of her former love-object: ' Something shadowed me, the thing was beside me, over me, around me, it was making strange inroads '; and again the description of the division between the ego and the sadistic super-ego, ' the thing would not let me be, I must watch every movement or the thing would trip me up. . . . Everyone said I was better, the thing licked its lips '. She says ' I seemed dual ', and that she feared that ' the thing ' would get stronger and stronger and some day it would *be* her. Later, when introjection was complete, ' the thing no longer had me, it was beginning to be incarnate in me ', and ' I simply became an expression of it '. She describes the lack of coherence of the ego, saying she felt divided and her consciousness felt split ' with a deep cleft that grew deeper as the months went on '. Here we see the super-ego reproaching the introjected object through the ego, which is now identified with the father, for its failure. This is a feature which dominates her periods in the depressive stage; doubt and guilt were like a crushing weight that nothing could lift. But in the stage of mania she describes a fusion of the ego and the super-ego, ' Yes, this thing was me—the thing that had brought me to my feet in the middle of the night months before with its sinister prophecy had indeed ceased to haunt and had become incarnate '. She describes a ' weakening of inhibitions ' with ' a hint of the censor to gloat over the show '.

The alternating phases of the depressive and the manic stages when the super-ego and the ego are in conflict and when conflict ceases altogether and the object is expelled and triumphed over, are vividly portrayed, revealing their oral character: ' One day I was a greedy beast, the next, realising more keenly my unhappy state, I refused to touch food '. She describes her rage and destructiveness, biting and tearing of clothes and attempts to bite people, as the essential symptoms of the manic stage. The impulse to take in the love object by the mouth and destroy it gives rise to the alternating periods of oral satisfaction and of the complete rejection of food as a punishment for this crime. Her account of her methods of obtaining veronal further develop the same idea; she was ' like an energetic baby breaking its weaker parents' will in regard to feeding regulations '. At one stage of the disease she attempted to strangle herself, but was prevented by the timely arrival of a nurse; the death instinct had gained the upper hand, and the sadism of the super-ego had nearly succeeded in destroying the ego and the introjected object.

The symptoms of megalomania and belief in the efficacy of magic gesture are fully realized : ' I felt the whole world knows what I have done ' and ' I scratched, bit and kicked, words were not needed, I had reverted to a stage when I used such methods of communication '. She is troubled with indecision about whether the most effective way to get out is ' by doing all the stupid things the nurses tell you or to break the rules, fight and use force ', recapitulating her uncertainty as to the best way of attaining her wishes in the infantile stage when her super-ego was formed at the early pre-genital level before love of parents became the motive for conduct. Likewise when she was held or physically forced she would fight and feel war and resentment. The feeling she frequently had of being ' jammed back to my own world of confused thoughts and questionings—weary hates and still wearier longings ', also reflects the probable frequent state of mind in her childhood with her ambivalent attitude to people. Masturbation was carried on without shame—trying to be ' as disgusting, as exasperating as possible '—and was followed by reaction and a feeling of being scorched.

Her first stage in recovery was marked by a renewal of contact with actual objects and a return of her obsessional character ; she had a passion for keeping the table tidy and dusted, she was interested in a job and possessions of hers now. She was seized suddenly by the fascination of words and ideas, identifying them with fæces. ' I saved up summer impressions. . . . In January they began to trickle forth feebly, the first sap, and like sap giving no idea of the pushing force behind them '. Poems were written on little crumpled bits of paper and kept in her pocket because her pocket was safer than the waste-paper basket and she did not want to ' get caught '. The same anal elements are discernible in her attitude to things ; she could not stand anyone bringing her even the most necessary articles, although they were strictly her own, because it emphasised her dependence and lack of freedom. ' I would rather do it myself '. When she got her ' privilege ' to go into the garden, her chief difficulty with the nurses was, as most likely it had been in regard to defæcation habits in early years, that she ' was always wanting to go out at odd times '. She had to be doing things all the time, to be continually on the go. She was worried about getting her food for nothing, having nothing of her own, being a non-contributing member of society. Her chief interest at this time was in nature, ' I looked and looked and looked ', a feature which is frequently found in the obsessional character as a sublimation of scoptophilia.

During this time and in the more acute stages she had continual feelings of being deserted, which were expressed in hallucinations of seeing her mother, suffering on account of her illness, and of being unable to get at her, and later in the fear that her relations would come for her but would

not wait. The ambivalent attitude and loose attachment to object are again shown by her threat if frustrated, ' If I can't go home I shall forget all about them '. This period was marked by alternating phases of submission and reticence.

Finally she realizes herself the development through her illness from oral to anal character, for in summing up the change in herself she says, ' I was suffering from the great fallacy that the world owed me a number of things ', but after recovery ' I was willing to work not only for necessities but for pleasures.'

S. Myers.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY
ANNA FREUD, GENERAL SECRETARY

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRAINING COMMISSION

Under the superintendence of Max Eitingon, Karen Horney, Carl Müller-Braunschweig, and Sándor Radó have drawn up a preliminary draft of ' Rules of the I.P.A. for training in psycho-analysis '. This draft is being submitted to all the Branch Training Committees for the purpose of obtaining their opinion and advice upon it. These Committees are requested to send in such critical remarks, suggestions for alterations or additions, or proposals to insert special local conditions to Dr. Max Eitingon, Berlin, W. 10, Rauchstrasse 4, by July 1, 1928, at latest.

The above-named members will then draw up a second draft on the basis of the communications received and submit it for consideration again.

In the meantime the above-named members hope to be able to take up the special questions relating to child-analysis.

Dr. Sándor Radó.
Secretary of the Commission.

Berlin. *May*, 1928.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1928

January 11, 1928. Mrs. Riviere gave an abstract of Freud's paper on Fetichism.

February 1, 1928 Dr. Róheim (Budapest) : Race-psychology and evolution. Primitive civilization is oral, capitalism anal. Investigation shows that wherever we find a culture based on anal sublimation among primitive tribes (quartz symbolism in South-East Australia, capitalism in Melanesia), the anal quality of the symbols is not due to progress from the oral but to regression from the genital stage of development.

The notion of cycles in development : repeated moves to the genital phase followed by castration anxiety and a genitofugal trend (Ferenczi).

Civilization evolved in regressive phase. The theory of an introjected modified regression, i.e. the genital development (Ferenczi) in conflict with the two essential defence-mechanisms as represented by Freud.

Society built up on this defence-mechanism. Religion is a mixture of the two types.

Evolution of civilization is also dependent on the ego-mechanism of

introjection, i.e. the formation of a super-ego. This mechanism explains the phenomenon of a cultural migration.

February 15, 1928. Mrs. Klein: Early stages of the Œdipus conflict.

March 4, 1928. Dr. Warburton Brown: Psycho-analysis and design in the plastic arts.

Design the primary factor producing æsthetic pleasure. An inquiry into the factors which are necessary for the production of a satisfying design in pure ornament, painting, sculpture or architecture. Illustrations to demonstrate these factors. Interpretation of design, starting from Eckart von Sydow's interpretation of primitive sculpture originating in the totemphal. The factors necessary for the making of a good design not real things in themselves, but appearances which satisfy certain unconscious wishes.

Change of Address:

Dr. Sylvia Payne, 20, Park Square East, Portland Place, N.W. 1.

Mrs. Susan Isaacs, 54, Regent's Park Road, N.W. 1.

Douglas Bryan.
Hon. Secretary.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First—Fourth Quarters, 1927

January 29, 1927. *General Meeting*, held in Leyden.

The minutes of the previous meeting and the annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian were adopted. The following were elected to serve on the Council:

President: Dr. J. E. G. van Emden.
Treasurer: J. H. W. van Ophuijsen.
Secretary: A. Endtz.
Librarian: Dr. K. H. Bouman.

Frau Dr. A. Lampl de Groot transferred her membership to the Berlin Society. Dr. J. Knappert resigned from the Society. Dr. M. Flohil was elected a member.

The members of the Leyden Society of Psycho-Analysis and Psychopathology were invited to be present at the scientific part of the meeting.

a. Dr. J. H. van der Hoop: A case of hebephrenia. The speaker reported the analysis of a young patient suffering from hebephrenia. The results of the analysis were very good, but it had to be broken off prematurely for external reasons. Dr. van der Hoop was of opinion that even those advanced cases of schizophrenia are not so hopeless from the therapeutic point of view as has hitherto been supposed.

b. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: (1) A case of 'repetition and recollection' during an analysis which did not follow a typical course. (2) The rôle of the anal complex in delusions of persecu-

tion. The speaker disputed the opinion expressed by the younger Jelgersma in his treatise that there is a separate delusion of persecution, based on castration-anxiety, into which the anal complex does not enter. Jelgersma himself has always found that the anal complex is present in delusions of persecution in neurotics. He asked what was the experience of psychiatrists in this matter.

April 2, 1927. Meeting held in Leyden.

a. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: The question of lay-analysis.[1]

b. Dr. S. Weyl: Review of Th. Reik's book, entitled *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*.

July 2, 1927. Joint meeting, held in Leyden, with the Leyden Society of Psycho-Analysis and Psychopathology.

Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: On the transference. The positive and negative manifestations of transference and the technical difficulties which they may present in analysis. Difference between the sexual aim and the sexual object of these manifestations. Transference the best way of convincing the patient of the active influence of the unconscious.

November 19, 1927. Meeting held in Amsterdam.

a. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: Report of the Tenth International Congress, held at Innsbruck, September, 1927.

b. Dr. J. M. Rombouts: Neurosis in persons of exceptional talent. Intellectual ability in youth may become the cause of inferiority in later life; easy achievements give less satisfaction than that which is attained with difficulty, and this tends to diminish the interest of persons who are specially gifted. The manner in which the clinical picture is coloured by the exceptional ability.

A. Endtz.
Secretary.

GERMAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1928

January 10, 1928. Continuation of the discussion on Freud's book: *Zukunft einer Illusion*.

January 21, 1928. *General Meeting*.

The reports of the Council, the Treasurer, the Director of the Institute, the Training Committee and the Committee for the Administration of the Scholarship Fund were read and adopted.

The Society ratified the foundation of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Leipzig* (the Leipzig Subsection).

The Council was unaminously re-elected as follows: *President*, Dr.

[1] Cf. The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 1927, Vol. VIII.

Simmel; *Secretary*, Dr. Radó; *Treasurer*, Frau Dr. Horney. The following were elected to serve on the Training Committee: Drs. Alexander, Eitingon, Frau Horney, C. Müller-Braunschweig, Radó, Sachs and Simmel.

The following were elected to administer the Scholarship Fund: Drs. Boehm, Hárnik, Horney and C. Müller-Braunschweig.

Dr. Boehm proposed that the plan of voluntary contributions to the Scholarship Fund should continue as before. The subscription of membership was raised to 70 marks. Frau Dr. F. Lowtzky was elected to full membership.

January 31, 1928. Frl. Dr. L. Kirschner: Notes on the analysis of a case of obsessional inhibition in work.

February 11, 1928. Dr. Géza Róheim (Budapest): Race-psychology and evolution.

February 21, 1928. Dr. Winogradow (Kiev, guest of the Society): The phylogenetic factor in the passing of the Œdipus complex.

February 28, 1928. Short communications:

1. Dr. Fenichel:
   a. The economic purpose of screen-memories.
   b. The phantasy of intrauterine castration.
2. Dr. Hárnik: Rank's trauma-theory criticized in the light of clinical examples.
3. Dr. Sachs: A remarkable reaction to the entry of a repressed memory into consciousness.

March 13, 1928. Dr. Erich Fromm (Heidelberg, guest of the Society): Psycho-Analysis of persons of the lower middle class.

March 20, 1928. Short communications:

1. Dr. Krafft (guest of the Society): A case of self-blinding in a psychotic patient.
2. Dr. Simmel: Notes on cases at the Psycho-Analytical Clinic:
   a. Presenile involution-psychosis as the final state of a neurotic character (' fate '-neurosis).
   b. Perversion combined with an anal tumour. An operation performed during hypnosis.
3. Dr. Hárnik: The symbolism of flowers.

In the Winter quarter (January—March), 1928, the following courses of lectures were held at the Society's Institute (Berlin, W. 35, Potsdamerstrasse 29).

a. Obligatory Course

1. Sándor Radó: Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. Part II. General theory of the neuroses. Lectures, 10. Attendance, 33.

2. Carl Müller-Braunschweig: Infantile sexuality. Theory of the instincts. Theory of the libido. Lectures, 6. Attendance, 16.

3. Otto Fenichel: Seminar on Freud's Case-Histories. Part I. Seven sessions of two hours each. Attendance, 26.

4. Franz Alexander: Analysis of the ego. Lectures, 7. Attendance, 45.

5. Jenö Hárnik. Seminar on writings dealing with the application of psycho-analysis to literature and art. Seven sessions of two hours each. Attendance, 14.

6. Hanns Sachs: Technique of psycho-analysis. Part II. (Special problems). Lectures, 7. Attendance, 37.

7. Karen Horney and Sándor Radó: Discussions on technique. (For training candidates or practising analysts only.) Seven sessions of two hours each. Attendance, 10.

8. Max Eitingon and others: Exercises in practical therapy (control-analysis). (For training candidates only.) Attendance, 11.

b. Optional Course.

1. Siegfried Bernfeld: Psycho-analytical discussion of practical educational problems (*a*) for beginners and (*b*) for advanced students. Attendance, 61 and 46 respectively.

2. Harald Schultz-Hencke: Seminar on Freud's *The Ego and the Id.* Seven sessions of two hours each. Attendance, 16.

LEIPZIG SUBSECTION

On *July* 23rd, 1927, at the suggestion of the German Psycho-Analytical Society, the Psycho-Analytical Group at Leipzig, which has existed in various forms since 1919, constituted itself the 'Leipzig Subsection of the German Psycho-Analytical Society'.

The following is a brief history of this group.

In 1919 Karl H. Voitel, then a medical student, persuaded those in Leipzig who were interested in psycho-analysis to form a society. In September, 1922, under the leadership of Frau Dr. Benedek, a smaller circle crystallized out of this larger but more loosely constituted society. Since then this smaller group has held regular meetings for the study of psycho-analysis. In the interest of their common study nobody was allowed to become a permanent member who had not undergone a training analysis. Thanks to the stricter organization of the smaller group the members of the Leipzig Subsection, even before it was officially constituted, were admitted as guests to the scientific meetings of the German Psycho-Analytical Society.

The Leipzig Subsection of the German Psycho-Analytical Society met every week during the summer and autumn of 1927 and discussed recent publications on psycho-analysis. On one evening in the month problems arising in psycho-analytical practice were the subject of discussion.

At sessions to which those interested in psycho-analysis (for the most part medical students) were invited, the theory of the different neuroses

was chosen for discussion. On one evening Dr. med. Voitel spoke on the subject of hysteria, and on another Dr. med. Vauck on phobias and the anxiety-neurosis. Lively discussions took place at the close of the papers. A discussion on *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality* was opened by Frau Dr. med. Benedek.

On *December* 12, 1927, at the invitation of Prof. Dr. Siegerist, Dr. med. Benedek spoke at the Seminar on the History of Medicine, her subject being ' The fundamental principles of psycho-analysis '.

MEMBERS OF THE LEIPZIG SUBSECTION

Benedek, Dr. med. Frau Therese (*Chairman*), Brüderstrasse 7, II.

Ekmann, Tore, Lecturer in Swedish in the University, c/o Frau Dr. Benedek.

Ranft, Hermann, Teacher, Holsteinstrasse 15.

Vauck, Dr. med. Ottot, Schkenditz b/Leipzig, Nervenheilanstalt, Bergmannwohl.

Voitel, Dr. med. Karl, Georgiring 9.

Weigel, Dr. med. Herbert, Philipp-Rosenthalerstrasse 12 (*Secretary*).

FRANKFURT SUBSECTION

This Branch was formed in *October*, 1926, and has met on the first Sunday of every month. Besides longer papers by different members and clinical communications to which all have contributed, there have been exhaustive discussions of recent psycho-analytical publications and especially of those by Prof. Freud. In view of there being so much material to deal with it was resolved that, in 1928, the Society should meet regularly on the third Tuesday as well as the first Sunday in the month. The fact that the number of meetings has been doubled is the best proof of the need for this group.

MEMBERS OF THE FRANKFURT SUBSECTION

Fromm-Reichmann, Dr. med. Frau Frieda, Heidelberg.

Fromm, Dr. Erich, Heidelberg.

Happel, Dr. med. Frau Clara, Frankfurt.

Landauer, Dr. Karl (*Chairman*).

Röllenblöck, Dr.

Meng, Dr. med. Heinrich, Stuttgart.

Stein, Dr.

Dr. Sándor Radó,
Secretary.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1928

January 13, 1928. Dr. S. Ferenczi: The elasticity of psycho-analytical technique.

January 27, 1928. Frau K. Lévy: Inhibitions in learning. The

speaker sought to apply Freud's views on inhibitions in general to those affecting learning in particular, illustrating her remarks by practical examples. We have to differentiate between a simple disturbance of function, occurring as a neurotic symptom, and an intellectual inhibition the basis of which is organic. The first group comprises (1) isolated inhibitions arising out of the actual task with which the subject is at the moment confronted (like forgetting, such inhibitions are based on the repression-mechanism of the pleasure-principle); (2) permanent inhibitions due to (*a*) the withdrawal of energy, (*b*) the mechanism of erotization, (*c*) that of self-punishment. Neurotic inhibitions in learning may spring from (*a*) the dread of castration, or (*b*) the desire for castration.

February 3, 1928. *General Meeting*. Re-election of the Council.

February 17, 1928. Frau A. Bálint: Review of Bernfeld's book: *Psychologie des Säuglings*.

February 25, 1928. Anna Freud (Vienna): The analysis of children.

March 9, 1928. 1. Standardization of Hungarian technical terms relating to psycho-analysis. 2. Clinical communications:

a. Frau V. Kovács: A fairy-tale made up by a child.

b. Dr. S. Ferenczi: Aggressive tendencies and thinking.

March 16, 1928. Clinical communications:

a. Dr. G. Róheim: A casuistic contribution on the subject of the source of myths about dwarfs. Ferenczi's view of their origin confirmed.

b. Dr. M. Bálint: Epilepsy or hysteria? Account of a case in which, during analysis, attacks which were unmistakably epileptic began to take on the character of hysteria.

Frau Kata Lévy, and Dr. Géza Dukes, Associate Members of the Society, were elected to full membership.

The Psycho-Analytical Movement. Dr. S. Ferenczi gave a course of introductory lectures on psycho-analysis. The attendance was so large that the lecture-room first chosen turned out to be too small, and the lectures had to be given in the large Concert Hall of the Academy of Music.

Dr. Imre Hermann,
Secretary.

INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1927

January 29, 1927. Fifth Annual General Meeting. The report for 1926 was accepted and the Council for 1927 elected as follows:

President: Dr. G. Bose.

Secretary: Mr. M. N. Banerjee.

Members of the Council: Dr. M. N. Sen Gupta and Mr. G. Bora.

The President: Pleasure in wish. The lecturer in continuation of

his previous papers further developed the theme of the 'wish circuit'. He pointed out the mechanism by which the pleasure resulting from the fulfilment of a wish is referred to one point or another in the subjective or objective half of the circuit. He also explained the relationship of this attachment to repression.

March 20, 1927. A sub-committee was formed to investigate the opinion of members of the Society on the question of lay analysis.

The President read the records of the analysis of a case showing transference. They showed the rise, growth and dissolution of a gross sexual transference in an elderly female patient. The transference was accompanied by a violent form of jealousy directed against another patient who was her neighbour.

Second Quarter, 1927

April 24, 1927. The report of the sub-committee on the question of lay analysis was adopted. As a result of the questionnaire circulated to members of the Society it was found that there was a decided majority (eight to four) in favour of the view that non-medical men should be allowed to practise psycho-analysis when certain conditions have been fulfilled by them.

Lt.-Col. Berkeley-Hill: A remarkable example of symbolic castration. The lecturer described a case where the subject wilfully placed his left hand on the rail and allowed his hand to be cut off from the wrist by a moving train. He explained the mechanism of this symbolic castration from psycho-analytical records of the case.

Fourth Quarter, 1927

November 27, 1927. Dr. G. Bose reported on a case of psycho-sexual impotency. Extracts read from the records showed that cure was established only when the unconscious feminine attitude towards the father was unearthed and adjusted. The records supported the President's views on the genesis of homosexuality elaborated in a previous paper. The primary phase of homosexuality in the male is of the passive type and is directed towards the father by a process of identification with the mother.

December 4, 1927. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta: The nature of self. The lecturer gave a historical and critical survey of self as a psychological entity. He pointed out the inadequacy of some of the conceptions and suggested that materials for the solutions of this problem should be drawn from psycho-analytical records.

Besides the formal meetings of the Society weekly discussions on psycho-analytical subjects were held. Lt.-Col. Berkeley-Hill was elected President of the Psychological section of the Science Congress held at Lahore in January, 1927, where psycho-analytical papers were read and discussed.

First Quarter, 1928

January 31, 1928. The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Calcutta, with Dr. G. Bose presiding. The report for 1927 was adopted and the officers for 1928 were elected as follows :

President : Dr. G. Bose.

Secretary : Mr. M. N. Banerjee.

Members of the Council : Dr. S. Mitra and Mr. G. Bora.

It was resolved to institute a circulating library for members from books presented to the Society and others purchased from its funds, the sum of Rs. 200 being voted for this purpose. Dr. S. C. Mitra was appointed Hon. Librarian.

M. N. Banerjee.
Secretary.

NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Third Quarter, 1927

There were no meetings held during this quarter on account of the summer recess.

Fourth Quarter, 1927

October 25, 1927. Dr. M. Levy (by invitation) : Finger Sucking and Associate Movements. The paper was a statistical study which showed that finger sucking was prompted by an insufficiency of the sucking phase.

Dr. C. P. Oberndorf : A Report of the Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress. This report was supplemented by remarks from Drs. S. E. Jelliffe and A. Kardiner.

November 29, 1927. Dr. A. Stern : Clinical Communication. This dealt with a transference incident in which an obvious interpretation with reference to sister jealousy was found to mask a second interpretation with a diametrically opposite tendency. The question of the relative value of both interpretations was raised.

Dr. P. R. Lehrman : An Analysis of a Mixed Neurosis in a Woman. The compulsive elements of this case yielded partially after an analysis of twenty months' duration, the patient having improved sufficiently to resume her regular domestic affairs, only to return several years later with transference phenomena necessitating a second brief analysis which indicated the patient's path to recovery, which was her resignation to remain a woman.

Philip R. Lehrman,
Corresponding Secretary.

First Quarter, 1928

January 31, 1928.

a. Dr. A. Lorand : A narcissistic neurosis, the analysis of a mild schizophrenia with suicidal tendencies.

b. Dr. M. Meyer : A resistance dream in the form of a number. The

analysis showed the interest the patient had to defeat the cure of a symptom by proving the analyst wrong in a statement the latter made in the first interview.

Both papers provoked interest and much discussion.

At the business session Dr. Alexander Lorand, having met the legal requirements to practice medicine in New York State, was elected to active membership.

Dr. Oberndorf, as chairman of the Educational Committee and of the Trust Fund, announced that Messrs. Leo Bing and Alfred Rose had been invited to become lay advisers of the Trust Fund and had accepted.

The following officers were elected for the year 1928 :

President : Dr. A. A. Brill.

Vice-President : Dr. Monroe Meyer.

Secretary and Treasurer : Dr. A. Kardiner.

Council : Dr. C. P. Oberndorf, Dr. A. Stern, Dr. S. E. Jelliffe.

The President appointed Dr. Philip R. Lehrman, *Corresponding Secretary*.

The following committees were appointed by the President :

Educational Committee Drs. Oberndorf (*Chairman*), Stern, Jelliffe, Meyer, Kardiner, Ames, Lehrman.

Scientific Committee : Drs. Meyer (*Chairman*), Lorand, Lewin.

Auditors : Drs. Stern and Meyer.

The trustees were elected as follows :

Dr. Oberndorf, 3 years ; Dr. Stern, 2 years ; Dr. Jelliffe, 1 year.

February 28, 1928. Dr. Horace L. Carncross (by invitation) : The so-called castration-complex in females. The whole question of sexual fears in the female was reviewed with special reference to Jones's recent contributions, and Dr. Carncross indicated that the primary fear in the female is the fear of rape. The paper provoked much discussion.

At the business session the folowing were elected to Associate Membership :

Drs. I. T. Broadwin, G. Zilboorg.

The Educational Committee reported the success of the lectures given and announced a series of round table conferences for those who attended the lectures.

March 27, 1928. Dr. A. A. Brill : A communication in which the mechanism of punishment as a gratification of unconscious guilt was demonstrated.

Dr. D. Feigenbaum : A summary of Prof. Freud's *Die Zukunft einer Illusion*.

Both papers were highly instructive.

Philip R. Lehrman,
Corresponding Secretary.

PARIS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

1925–1927

For some years past there has existed in Paris a kind of centre of psycho-analysis in the members of the *Evolution psychiatrique*, among them certain of the younger psychiatrists who were interested in psycho-analysis. Originally Laforgue was the only member of this Society who supported psycho-analysis, but as time went on he won over other members, including Borel, Codet and Pichon. This little circle, which was joined at the end of 1925 by Parcheming and Löwenstein, and in 1926 by Marie Bonaparte, has always kept in close contact with analysts in other places, as, for instance, with Hesnard in Toulon, and with Odier and de Saussure in Geneva.

In the spring of 1925 it was resolved to hold a congress of French-speaking analysts. The congress met in Geneva on August 1, 1926, the day before the annual 'Congrès des Aliénistes et Neurologues de Langue Française', and it was decided to hold a similar congress every year. On this occasion Laforgue spoke on 'Schizonoia' and Odier read a paper entitled 'Contribution à l'étude du surmoi et du phénomène moral'. The papers were followed by a lively discussion.

The second congress was held on July 24, 1927, at Blois. Odier read a paper on analysis of the obsessional neuroses. A third congress will take place at Antwerp in August, 1928, at which Laforgue and Löwenstein have been asked to speak on analytical technique.

It is due to Laforgue's energy that the members of the *Evolution psychiatrique*, together with the smaller analytical group, have organized themselves into a Psycho-Analytical Society. This was founded on November 4, 1926. The Society resolved to join the International Psycho-Analytical Association as the Paris Branch. It was admitted provisionally by the Central Executive and fully recognized by the Innsbruck Congress. The following were elected to serve on the Council for 1927: *President*, Laforgue: *Vice-President*, Sokolnicka; *Secretary and Treasurer*, Löwenstein.

At the time that the Society was founded it was also decided to publish a French Journal. Two numbers of this Journal, which is the official organ of the Society and is called the *Revue française de Psychoanalyse*, have already appeared. It is published under the *haut patronage* of Prof. Freud and consists of two sections, the one dealing with medical and the other with applied psycho-analysis. The medical section is edited by Laforgue, Hesnard, de Saussure and Odier, and the section of applied analysis by Marie Bonaparte. Pichon is the General Secretary for the Journal.

Meetings of the Society, 1926

November 30, 1926. (1) Dr. Borel: Rêves de l'état normal dans trois cas de dépression pseudo-mélancholique.

In three cases of profound depression, which improved greatly under

treatment, there occurred a series of dreams in which the patients saw themselves as quite well. These dreams were never fully explained analytically.

(2) Dr. Laforgue : À propos du surmoi. The speaker showed the importance of the conflict between the super-ego and the ego, in which the relations of parent and child are repeated. The incorporation of the parents is often resorted to as an outlet for hostile tendencies towards them. (Skotomization of the parents.) Part played by these mechanisms in schizophrenia.

December 20, 1926. *Business Meeting.*

December 21, 1926. Dr. Löwenstein : Analyse d'un cas de fétichisme et masochisme. The principal unconscious mechanisms at work in this perversion. The analysis was discontinued by the analyst when relatively good therapeutic results had been obtained.

First Quarter, 1927

January 10, 1927. R. Allendy : Eléments affectifs en rapport avec la dentition. The importance of teething in the development of the instincts; it plays a part in the beginnings of sadism and in weaning. Two cases in which the symbolism of teeth in dreams clearly revealed these connections.

February 22, 1927. *Business Meeting.*

March 25, 1927. Dr. Hesnard : Psychoanalyse d'un jeune homme de 18 ans atteint d'une neurose hypochondriaque. An account of a case of severe hypochondria with schizophrenic symptoms and physical retardation. In the analysis, which lasted four months, the pathogenic process at work was discovered : the sense of guilt, following on onanism and, behind it, castration-anxiety and the desire to be castrated. The analysis, which was carried out under difficult external conditions, prepared the way for the surprisingly good results ensuing from a change in the country.

Second Quarter, 1927

April 5, 1927. Dr. Ernest Jones : La conception du surmoi. The speaker sketched the development of the conception of the super-ego and then gave a very full and clear survey of its relations to the ego, the different forms taken by the sense of guilt and need for punishment, and the formation of the super-ego in both sexes through the process of identification.

June, 1, 1927. Dr. R. de Saussure : L'observation d'un pervers-sexuel. A case of perversion, the analysis of which is still in process. The patient had ejaculations, without erection in the ' Buddha ' position or with erection when he stood on his head. Reference was made to the important part played in the genesis of this perversion by observations of coitus.

July 5, 1927. Dr. Nacht (guest of the Society) : Quelques considérations sur une psychoanalyse chez une schizophrène. Three points were emphasized in this paper : the technique of the analysis, the interpretation of the symbolism, and the results obtained. In the speaker's opinion one must, in analysing schizophrenics, adopt an active technique (differing

from the classical technique) in order to establish transference. Only when this has taken place can the classical procedure be followed. Nacht gave the interpretation of certain zoological symbols. He took a relatively optimistic view as to the future possibilities of a therapy to be employed in schizophrenia.

List of Members

Members :

(1) Dr. René Allendy, Paris 16, 6 rue de l'Asomption.

(2) Marie Bonaparte, Princesse de Grèce, St. Cloud, rue du Montvalerien.

(3) Dr. A. Borel, Paris, 11 Quai aux fleurs.

(4) Dr. H. Codet, Paris 5, 10 rue de l'Odéon.

(5) Prof. A. Hesnard, Toulon, 4 rue Peiresc.

(6) Dr. R. Laforgue, Paris 16, 1 rue Mignet (*President*).

(7) Dr. R. Löwenstein, Paris 16, 24 rue Davioud (*Secretary and Treasurer*).

(8) Dr. Ch. Odier, Geneva, 24 Boulevard des Philosophes.

(9) Dr. G. Parcheminey, Paris 17, 92 Avenue Niel.

(10) Dr. E. Pichon, Paris 9, 23 rue du Rocher.

(11) Dr. R. de Saussure, Geneva, 21 Tertasse.

(12) F. Sokolnicka, Paris 7, 30 rue Chevert (*Vice-president*).

Associate Members :

(1) Dr. Anna Berman, Paris.

(2) Dr. Martin-Sisteron, Grenoble.

(3) Bernard Doveau, Paris.

Permanent Guests :

Dr. Sophie Morgenstern, Prynce Hopkins, Dr. Sacha Nacht.

RUSSIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1927

May 19, 1927. Prof. Kannabich: Ou narcissism. The speaker endeavoured to trace the beginnings of the idea of narcissism in pre-analytic studies of mythology and literature and in isolated observations by physicians and psychologists. In psycho-analysis the conception of narcissism has gone through a certain evolution which was described in detail. The paper was based on the works of Jones, on the recently published article by Havelock Ellis, entitled *The Conception of Narcissism*, and on the speaker's own observations of the early phases of schizophrenia.

May 26, 1927. Dr. Friedmann: Ambivalence in manic-depressive insanity. Starting from the theory of the fusion and defusion of both kinds of instinct, the speaker discussed the vicissitudes of ambivalence, not only in melancholia but also in mania, which does not represent a solution of the conflict of ambivalence. In his view one peculiarity of the state of mania is the discharge outwards of the aggressive impulses, which is

followed almost immediately or even accompanied by compensatory tenderness. In characters of the ' cycloid ' type the two sets of impulses are indissolubly connected.

Third Quarter, 1927

August 16, 1927. *Business Meeting.*

September 15, 1927. Wera Schmidt : Report of the Tenth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, held at Innsbruck, September, 1927.

Fourth Quarter, 1927

November 3, 1927. Frau Dr. Goltz. Observations during the earthquake in Crimea. The speaker said that there was a noticeable weakening of the control of the super-ego and that a number of regressive infantile characteristics were displayed, not only at the moment when the earthquake took place but also later. Some people did not react to the danger at all. When questioned, they were found to have an unconscious death-wish which was connected with distressing personal experiences. She was further able to prove that, in some people, the perception of time was disturbed.

At the Business Meeting the Vice-President, Prof. G. Kannabich, was asked to act as President for the period of Dr. Wulff's stay in Berlin.

November 17, 1927. Short communications :

a. Frau Dr. Averbuch : The unconscious in William James' *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* In view of the ever-increasing attempts to misuse Freud's theories for the purpose of religious apologetics and of the great theoretical importance of the work of the American school in this respect, the speaker tried to bring out clearly the sharp opposition between Freud's conception of the unconscious and that of William James and to emphasize the inevitable differences in the views of the two thinkers with regard to the social value of religious experiences.

b. Wera Schmidt : Children's dreams. The speaker communicated various dreams dreamt by children, in which wishes unfulfilled in reality were represented as having been fulfilled.

December 1, 1927. Prof. Kannabich : Symbolism. The speaker dealt exhaustively with the concept ' symbol ', gave an account of the newest works on the subject, and in particular of experimental dreams (the works of Roffenstein), and showed that symbolism, which is often a stumbling-block to the opponents of psycho-analysis, has already been proved beyond question, and that this is especially true of the sexual factor in symbolism.

First Quarter, 1928

Dr. Wulff having desired to resign the office of President of the Russian Society, Professor Kannabich was chosen to succeed him.

For the moment external conditions are more favourable. What the

Society chiefly lacks, however, is properly trained analysts with whom serious work might be undertaken in various fields of medicine and medical organizations.

Within the Society the work is going forward in two directions. Twice a month meetings are held at which papers are read by members on various subjects relating to psycho-analysis. Besides these meetings there has been a monthly seminar on the obsessional neurosis. These seminars are attended not only by the members of the Society but by others (medical men) who wish to study psycho-analysis.

Wera Schmidt,
Secretary.

SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1928

January 21, 1928. Dr. med. Sarasin (Bâle): A psycho-analytical contribution to the study of Goethe's *Mignon*, Part I. Attendance: 18 members, 8 guests.

Business Meeting: The Council for 1928 was appointed as follows: *President:* Dr. med. Ph. Sarasin, Bâle. *Vice-President:* Dr. med. H. Behn-Eschenburg, Zürich-Küsnacht. *Treasurer:* Dr. med. E. Blum, Berne. *Secretary:* H. Zulliger, Ittigen, Berne. Pfarrer Dr. O. Pfister, Zürich.

The Society having recognized the formation of the Swiss Medical Psycho-Analytical Union and having accepted the resignations of all those who were joining the new Union, the meeting proceeded to the items on the agenda: the report of the Treasurer and the drawing-up of a programme for future work.

February 4, 1928. *Business Meeting* (for members only). A Training Committee was appointed, consisting for the present of the members of the Council. The initial problems are being considered and laid before the Society.

General Meeting: Attendance: 13 members, 3 guests. Dr. med. Sarasin (Bâle): A psycho-analytical contribution to the study of Goethe's *Mignon*, Part II.

February 25, 1928. Zulliger (Berne): The psychology of an accident to a child. Attendance, 15 members, 3 guests.

A school-boy, one of whose fingers was crushed and torn off, afterwards showed signs of a neurotic reaction to the accident. The latter was brought about by unconscious feelings of guilt and was equivalent to a self-punishment. The question suggests itself whether accidents may not often be the outcome of a tendency to expiation and must not therefore be considered to indicate an already established or latent neurosis.

March 16, 1928. 1. *Business Meeting.* A seminar was started to discuss technical problems and the literature of psycho-analysis. It was planned that the Training Committee should arrange for a course of public lectures

to be given in Berne in the spring and later at Zürich and Bâle. Attendance, 16 members, 3 guests.

2. Direktor Dr. med. Kielholz (Königfelden): Armies and leaders. The psychology of armies from the psycho-analytical standpoint. The mass of the rank and file displays characteristics which amount to a regression to infantile or primitive levels. The leader, as we see if we study the generals of genius in the history of the world, has the virtues and the fascination which a good father possesses in the mind of a boy. The tendency to mutiny arises out of the Œdipus situation. 'Barbed-wire sickness' and mass-neuroses in the trenches and behind the lines, phenomena which occurred in the Great War, are really disturbances of libido.

March 31, 1928. 1. *Business Meeting:*

Dr. Harald Schjeldrup, Professory of Psychology in the University of Oslo, and Dr. Kristian Schjeldrup, Doctor of Theology, Oslo, were elected members of the Society. Attendance, 10 members, 4 guests.

2. Furrer (Zürich): My experience of child-analysis. An analysis of a twelve-year-old hysterical patient failed owing to faulty technique, after good results had at first been obtained. The failure was partly due to attempts to hurry the analysis and to model it on the technique of adult analysis. 'The best way to shorten it (the analysis) seems to be to carry it out correctly' (Freud). The analysis of a seven-year-old girl was successfully carried out on lines indirectly analogous to Freud's analysis of little Hans. After a year's treatment the child began to develop normally.

In the third part of his paper the speaker suggested a programme for psycho-analytical training which is published *in extenso* in the *Zeitschrift für psycho-analytische Pädagogik.*

Pfarrer Dr. O. Pfister has given a number of lectures to Teachers' Unions and others interested in the subject on psycho-analysis and its application in pastoral and educational work. At Buer, in the Ruhr district, he lectured three times to an audience of seven hundred.

Dr. med. E. Blum gave two lectures on the wireless at Berne on the meaning and the possibilities of psycho-analysis.

Dr. med. H. Behn led a course of discussion on psycho-analysis at the seminar on remedial education at Zürich.

Herr Zulliger has lectured on psycho-analytical questions in various places to the local Teachers' Unions, at 'parents' evenings' and other meetings. He also gave two courses of lectures on education and psycho-analysis, which were delivered on eight and twelve evenings respectively and were intended for parents and teachers.

(*Signed*) On behalf of the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society,
Ph. Sarasin, *President,*
Hans Zulliger, *Secretary.*